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The War in New Jersey

Battles, Alarums and Men of the Revolution

THEODORE THAYER

The January PROCEEDINGS *contained an article on "Revolutionary New Jersey, 1763-1787 which dealt with the war in political terms. Below, in a story of battles, forays, and weary years of vigilence, is shown the military side of the picture. Dr. Thayer, the author, is a member of the history department, Newark Colleges of Rutgers University.*

ALTHOUGH the American Revolution, in a political sense, was virtually complete by the summer of 1776 with the adoption of the Declaration of Independence and the several state constitutions, the war which must be won to sustain the great experiment in self-government had barely begun in earnest. During this long struggle New Jersey—or the northern part of the state at least—by the very fact that the British henceforth were to occupy the city of New York, was never outside the theater of war. Moreover New Jersey, as the land bridge between New York and Philadelphia (the two principal American cities), became the scene of campaigns and battles on whose outcome depended the very life of the nation.

From the beginning of Howe's campaign, New Jersey played a prominent role in the course of events. Early in June, 1776, watchers at Sandy Hook espied the vanguard of the great fleet bringing the enemy to New York. Never before had anyone in America seen the like of this magnificent display assembled

in the harbor of New York. In all, the British fleet consisted of four hundred transports, twenty frigates, and ten ships of the line, manned by ten thousand seamen and carrying thirty-two thousand of the finest and best-equipped soldiers in the world. The British government was determined, it would seem, to make short shift of the American rebellion.

Fearing that New Jersey might at any time be invaded in force, Washington released all but two battalions of the New Jersey militia serving in New York and sent them home to guard the state. About the same time Congress sent all available Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware militia into New Jersey to assist in defending the state. This great assemblage, presently to number upwards to five thousand men, was known as the Flying Camp. The task of commanding this throng of half-organized and poorly disciplined men was no easy one. It was assigned to Brigadier General Hugh Mercer, a man who from his experiences on the Pennsylvania frontier during the French and Indian War could handle the situation if anyone could.

By law the New Jersey militia consisted of all able-bodied men between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five. As was the custom in America, the men chose their own officers as high as the rank of captain or major. The officers, in turn, were allowed to elect their colonels. The militia was primarily a home guard to be called out whenever the state was invaded or threatened with invasion. When signal guns were fired, the militia were to don a regulation hunting shirt and, with musket, bayonet, tomahawk, and knapsack, report at the home of the company captain.

Hardly had Mercer assumed command of the Flying Camp when his troubles began. The New Jersey militia had assembled, thinking that the state might be invaded momentarily. As days passed and the British did not strike, they became restless. Their crops were waiting in the fields and they had families to care for. Soon Mercer was beseiged with a hail of requests for leave to go home to get in the harvest. Fortunately for all concerned, the early arrival of large numbers of Pennsylvania troops made it possible for Mercer to excuse many of the New Jersey farmers.

It was not long, however, before the condition of the New

Jersey militia reached such a state of confusion that something had to be done. A reorganization act setting up two classes to serve alternately for six weeks worked some improvement. But Mercer's worries over the militia were never ended. Desertions, or what the men were pleased to look upon as merely unexcused absences for a few days or weeks, occurred on such a large scale that one never knew when an important post might be stripped of its personnel. Patrols had to be on the road constantly, searching for deserters, and detachments were stationed at bridges and ferries to see that all soldiers going by had passes signed by their company officers.

Mercer had his problems, too, with those on duty as well as those who absconded. As the days passed and the numbers of men increased, there was much old-fashioned griping over poor food, the shortage of tents or other camp equipment, and a host of other annoyances. But the chief cause of complaint was one for which neither the Continental Congress nor the state of New Jersey could be held responsible. From the great salt marshes nearby, myriads of mosquitoes infiltrated the hot sultry summer air and kept the whole army scratching and cursing.

But perhaps the militia actually had less to complain about than the citizenry of the eastern counties. The swarms of idle and none-too-well disciplined men in the towns and on the streets and highways presented no small problem to both civil and military authorities. No doubt the great majority of the militia were honest, law-abiding persons who tried to co-operate and not to offend the people. But there are always those who are not social-minded and are too ready to take advantage of their fellow citizens. Some of the militia were noisy and quarrelsome and given to drinking and gambling. Taverns were crowded with soldiers among whom mingled the none-too-delicate barmaids and camp followers. Not a few of the men took advantage of the general disorder and confusion in the area to rob and steal. Property of the Tories or persons suspected of Loyalism was more or less systematically plundered.

This was bad enough, but it was not all that the people had to endure. Bivouacking five thousand men necessitated an endless supply of food and firewood. Most of the available firewood was

soon exhausted, whereupon the soldiers began tearing up fences, cutting down trees, and even pulling down barns, sheds, and other buildings for fuel. They scoured the countryside for cattle, hay, grain, and vegetables and forced receipts into the hands of the helpless owners as they drove off with the provisions. But the hardships and suffering of the people during the American occupation were mild compared to what was in store when the British and Tories should arrive and begin their raids.

As the safety of New Jersey became daily more precarious, the state did what it could to guard against sabotage and treason. As soon as Staten Island was occupied by the enemy, many of the New Jersey Tories fled to the protection of the British. No one was sorry to see them go for they could do less harm there than within the American lines.

To put the pointer on those Loyalists who remained in New Jersey, all men were required by law to take an oath of allegiance to the state and abjure all allegiance to Great Britain. Those who would not take the oath or affirmation were placed under parole and denied the privilege of traveling without official permit. They were also disarmed and their houses were searched for concealed weapons. As the danger to the state increased, some of the more influential Tories were forced to remove themselves and their families into the interior where they could be better watched and do less harm if the occasion arose.

Loyalism in New Jersey as elsewhere ranged all the way from passive refusal to aid the Revolution to outright helping of the enemy in every possible way. If nearly one-half of the people (the great majority of the Quakers adhered to a kind of pro-British neutrality) had Tory persuasions of one form or another, those who actively aided the King probably did not number above five per cent of the population of New Jersey. The fact, however, that they were fairly numerous along the eastern fringe of the state, especially in Bergen and Monmouth counties, made their presence extremely dangerous. Despite all precautions, Loyalists throughout the war carried information to the British and otherwise aided the enemy. When the British invaded the state they acted as consultants in planning the routes of invasion and then guided the army along the roads

and by-passes. From their base on Staten Island, Loyalist regiments continuously raided and harassed North Jersey and took their places along side the British and Hessians in many of the important battles of the war.

II

On July 12, 1776, General Mercer, who was busily fortifying Paulus Hook (a point on the Jersey shore opposite the tip of Manhattan), had received word from General Howe that he was empowered to pardon all Americans seeking to return to their true allegiance. His offer of clemency falling on deaf ears, Howe on August 22 launched his assault on Long Island with a force of twenty thousand British and Hessians. In the battle which followed, it was the New Jersey general, Lord Stirling (William Alexander), who won the honors of the day and perhaps saved the Continental Army from complete destruction. Stirling, although outnumbered three-to-one, stubbornly held his line until the broken and demoralized Continentals to his left had time to escape. After he had finally ordered his men to retire, Stirling was captured while covering their retreat with a small detachment. The Americans lost that day fifteen hundred killed, wounded, or captured, or approximately one-third of the forces engaged. Against this the British losses of less than four hundred were negligible.

After Washington's escape from Long Island, Howe slowly pushed the American army through Manhattan into Westchester County. After then failing to defeat Washington at White Plains, Howe returned to Manhattan where, on November 16, he successfully assaulted Fort Washington and captured its garrison of twenty-eight hundred men.

With the loss of Fort Washington, Fort Lee which had been erected by Mercer as a companion fort on the New Jersey side of the Hudson became untenable. Although the evacuation began at once, it was started too late. Only two days after the fall of Fort Washington, Cornwallis with a force of six thousand climbed the Palisades at a point eight miles to the north and descended upon Fort Lee. Warned in time, General Greene got nearly all of his garrison of three thousand men safely off on

the road to Hackensack. Here he joined Washington, who had crossed into New Jersey with five thousand troops about a week earlier.

The American cause was now perilous indeed. The losses from the two forts alone were staggering. Besides three thousand prisoners, the British had taken 146 cannon, 12,000 shot, 3,000 small arms, 400,000 rounds of ammunition, and stacks of tents, blankets, and other baggage. The sagging morale and loss of confidence in American arms were even more alarming. Some kind of American victory was sorely needed, yet Washington dared not risk another general battle unless strongly supported by the New Jersey militia.

But whether help came or not, Washington could not remain at Hackensack. Barely had he transferred his army to the west bank of the Passaic and destroyed the bridge when the vanguard of the British was upon them. Fortunately for the Americans, the weather which had been singularly fair for many weeks now turned foul. Heavy rains and mud impeded the British long enough for Washington to rest his men at Newark for the better part of a week while he called in outlying detachments and sent most of his sick and wounded to the comparative safety of Morristown.

Washington, it would seem, was not sure but that the whole army might be compelled to find refuge at Morristown. Though Stirling (exchanged by the British a few weeks before) had a brigade at Elizabethtown and Rahway, a quick British move in force from Staten Island or Perth Amboy would compel the whole American army to retreat into the highlands. This would have left the way open for the British to make a dash for the Delaware and secure a crossing for a march on Philadelphia. Howe's failure to land a large force promptly at Perth Amboy is just another of his many blunders. With the way clear, therefore, Washington set off straight for the Delaware where from the Pennsylvania side he hoped to hold off the British and force them to abandon their visions of a speedy capture of Philadelphia.

While the Continental Army tarried at Newark in the fall of 1776, Thomas Paine, who some time before had joined the

Flying Camp, started writing his immortal essay, *The Crisis*. "These are the times that try men's souls," he told America. "The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will in this crisis shrink from the service of his country, but he that stands by it now deserves the thanks of man and woman."

Paine's stirring words, which were read to all the soldiers by order of Washington, helped to keep many loyal and steady during these dark hours of the Revolution. But there were others, in fact hundreds, of sunshine patriots who soon gave up and sought the protection of the British. However, one should not be too harsh in judging the faint-hearted. The prospect was indeed terrifying. On December 2, 1776, the New Jersey government, after fleeing from Trenton to Princeton and from Princeton to Burlington, broke up amid the greatest confusion. Terror seized the great as well as the lesser folk. Among the most notorious of the faint-hearted who swore allegiance to the Crown was Samuel Tucker, president of the provincial convention which framed the state constitution and, since then, chairman of the state Committee of Safety, state treasurer, and chief justice of the Supreme Court.

New Jersey, it is true, had had some warning of the impending disaster, but not in time to be very well prepared. On November 7, Washington warned the people of North Jersey that their country might soon be the theater of war. Aware how wantonly the enemy had plundered New York, as many as were able sent their families and prized possessions to friends and relatives in the highlands.

Fortunate indeed were those, whether Whig or Tory, who did so. The enemy, especially the hated Hessians, ransacked all buildings along the line of march, stealing everything of any value which could be carried away. Tories pointed out the homes of prominent Whigs for special attention. What the vandals couldn't carry off they smashed and destroyed, sometimes putting the torch to the property for good measure. Camp followers—and there were swarms of them—aided their soldier friends in stripping the houses and carrying off the loot. Generals Howe and Cornwallis tried to stop the vandalism but to no avail. Many of the officers gave their men free rein and some

even helped themselves to the more valuable possessions. No less a person than General Erskine, it is said, carried off some fine mahogany furniture in his baggage.

To add to the general terror, a few helpless victims were wantonly murdered by the invading horde. By the time the enemy reached the vicinity of Princeton, scores had fled to the Sourland Mountains where, with only makeshift shelters, some died and all suffered miserably.

The conduct of the British and Hessians may have been no worse than what Americans suffered at the hands of fellow Americans in the Civil War. Be that as it may, the net result of rapine and murder at both times was to stiffen resistence and make it so much harder to prosecute the wars. The conduct of the British army in New Jersey was in truth no small factor in turning the tide of war in the American favor. Many persons who had been more or less indifferent, or even sympathetic to the King's cause, now became embittered and determined to drive the hated invaders from the land. Before long a rising tide of guerrilla warfare made the British occupation of New Jersey a decidedly unhealthful undertaking.

But before New Jersey could give much aid again in the Revolution, the people needed time to recover from the shock of invasion. At the start of the New Jersey campaign, Washington called upon the entire militia of the state to turn out and help repel the enemy. With the sudden fall of Fort Lee, however, and the steady advance of the enemy, the people of the eastern counties were so overcome with fear and apathy that few responded. Washington, who at the time spoke scathingly of the New Jersey militia, always maintained that had it done its duty he could have stopped Cornwallis at the Passaic. This may be true. Still the conduct of the New Jersey militia is not altogether indefensible. The situation in New Jersey was much different from that in Massachusetts the year before, when the minutemen drove the British out of Boston. The British army at Boston cannot be compared with General Howe's splendid war machine which had whipped the Continental Army and driven it from pillar to post. In the blackness of the hour it was not unnatural that many New Jersey men thought

that they must first look after their fleeing families. That the New Jersey militia was fully as good as any in the land was demonstrated past doubt when they outfought General Leslie's veterans at Springfield and more than held their own in a host of major and minor clashes with the enemy.

Although only a handful of recruits from the eastern counties answered the call of Washington and Governor Livingston, it should not be thought that New Jersey contributed nothing to its own defense. In the Continental line was the New Jersey Brigade, consisting of four battalions, commanded by Brigadier General William Maxwell of Sussex County. This brigade with its commander, a tall, stalwart, and excellent officer whom the men called "Scotch Willie," served with distinction throughout the war. The brigade took part in the battles of Trenton, Princeton, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, and Yorktown, besides marching with Sullivan against the Six Nations in 1779. In 1776 they had signed up for the duration, the common soldiers to receive but one dollar a week for their services.

In General Mercer's Flying Camp which in 1776 accompanied the Continental Army, was a sizeable body of New Jersey militia, more correctly in this case known as State Troops. The latter term applied to militia called out to serve for five months or for the duration of a crisis. These troops fought at Trenton and at Princeton, at the latter place sustaining heavy losses in the first stage of the battle.

Not all of the militia, however, was with Washington. Back in the hills of Morris County the men and boys under Colonel Jacob Ford had turned out in force, prepared to resist any attempt of the enemy to press into the mountains. That they were not bluffing they soon demonstrated. On December 14 General Leslie with a strong force of Redcoats approached Springfield, apparently set upon scattering the militia and pushing on to destroy Ford's powder mill on Whippany Creek near Morristown. At Springfield the highland militia, perhaps a thousand strong, gave battle, the result of which sent Leslie scurrying back to the British lines to the southward.

If General Charles Lee, who had been left in charge of nearly ten thousand troops guarding the Hudson River highlands,

had immediately brought part of his forces into New Jersey as Washington ordered, the course of the campaign in New Jersey might have been much different. Together with the Morris County militia, Lee would have had a large army with which to act against the British right flank and rear. When Lee finally did arrive in New Jersey it was too late to use his force effectively, as Washington had been driven to the Delaware. The only help Lee rendered was in allowing himself to be captured By a British patrol at Basking Ridge. After this unceremonious exit, General Sullivan, the next in command, marched off to join Washington without further delay.

Arriving at New Brunswick on November 28, 1776, Washington had time to rest his men before the slow-moving enemy were upon him again. Leaving behind Alexander Hamilton with a battery of artillery to check the British advance at the ford of the Raritan, Washington marched off to Princeton. Here he left the courageous Stirling with a brigade to hold the British. With the main army he hurried to Trenton, where a great fleet of river craft had been collected to carry the army over the Delaware. Hoping that some damage might be inflicted on the forward columns of the enemy, Washington, after putting his supplies and baggage on the Pennsylvania side, started back toward Princeton. But Stirling, though reinforced by several regiments under Greene and Stephen, was already retiring so as not to be surrounded. Washington then retreated and just succeeded in getting his army over the Delaware when the British swept into Trenton. General Howe with great gusto galloped down to the river bank while American cannon balls from the opposite shore plowed up the turf and showered him with dirt and mud. Finding that the Americans had all the river boats to be found, Howe decided to send his troops into winter quarters wthout delay.

For not building rafts and boats and following the Americans while he had the initiative, Howe was severely criticized by friends and foes alike. But he was confident that if the Americans remained in the field by spring they could be annihilated easily and with less effort. He, however, made the fatal mistake of allowing his line to be overextended by a string of garrisons

all the way from Perth Amboy to Bordentown. Major General James Grant was placed in charge of the occupation forces, with headquarters at New Brunswick.

At Trenton, directly opposite the American positions, were stationed three regiments of Hessians, who had done such splendid fighting at Long Island and Fort Washington. The garrison, commanded by Colonel Johann Rall, numbered fourteen hundred, consisting of Rall's blue-coated, Knyphausen's black-clad, and Losenberg's scarlet-coated regiments, besides a few Jaegers, British dragoons, and a company of artillery. Their commander, Colonel Rall, who held the American ragamuffins with their "pop guns" in the greatest contempt, was confident he was more than a match for any Americans who might venture across the river.

III

The New Jersey upon which war and revolution had descended was nothing like our present industrialized and urbanized society. On the contrary, it had a population of no more than 150,000 and was altogether rural in character. In the whole state there was not one place large enough to be called a city; in fact every town except Elizabethtown (whose population was about fifteen hundred) had less than a thousand people.

New Jersey's towns and villages, however small, assumed a very important place in the life and society of the age. These little villages—Perth Amboy, Newark, Elizabethtown, Trenton, Burlington, Bordentown, Gloucester, Morristown, and the others —were the hub of the business, social, and political activities of their locality. In them were found most of the state's men of talent and education: the doctors, lawyers, ministers, teachers, merchants, and politicians. The towns likewise housed a rapidly growing class of artisans and mechanics whose services and manufactures were everywhere in demand.

Among these towns, Perth Amboy, the old capital of East Jersey, had highest claims to social respectability. In colonial days, besides being the home of the governor, the town was the abode of a coterie of wealthy Anglicans who long dominated the Council and high appointive offices of the province. This

circumstance, coupled with their large proprietary interests in East Jersey, had not especially endeared them to the people at large. With such a background it is not surprising that most of them became Loyalists when the break with England came.

Newark and especially Elizabethtown contained many families of wealth and affluence. These people, being for the most part descendants of New England Puritans, were Presbyterians in religion and republican in their politics. Since the founding days they had fought the claims of the Proprietors and the pretensions of the governor and Council. Although every element in the state, not excepting the Quakers, furnished men and women who supported the Revolutionary movement, it can be safely said that the Presbyterian element centering in Essex and Morris counties constituted the backbone of the Revolution in New Jersey. There was more than blind vandalism when the British put the torch to most of the Presbyterian churches in northern New Jersey.

Quite naturally not all the leadership of the Revolution in New Jersey came from the towns and villages. Scattered throughout the rural areas were many men of distinction who gave guidance and direction to public affairs. Among these were the ironmasters of the highlands as well as the owners of broad acres along the banks of the principal rivers, whose stately mansions bespoke their station in life. Although the ironmasters as a group were Whigs, it would be difficult indeed to generalize on the politics of the rural squires. Many were leaders of the Revolution, some were out-and-out Tories, others tried hard to be neutral, while not a few essayed to change coats as often as the tide of war ebbed and flowed.

But the great majority of the people of New Jersey were neither townsmen nor country squires. They were independent farmers, usually owners of seventy-five or a hundred acres of land from which they derived a comfortable if not luxurious existence. They were of a variety of peoples: English, Dutch, German, Scotch, Scotch-Irish, with a sprinkling of other nationalities. The English were mainly of New England Puritan stock, inhabiting Essex and Morris counties, and they were also the Quakers who dwelt along the Delaware basin. The Dutch, who

adhered to the Reformed Church, were very numerous in Bergen County and formed an important section of the population along the Raritan Valley. The Scotch and Scotch-Irish, who were Presbyterian, and the Germans, who were mainly Lutheran and Reformed, were later additions to the population and had settled in the interior, especially in Somerset and Hunterdon counties. Among all the people the great majority must be classified as Whigs, although, as in other states, many were far from being very militant in their espousal of the American cause.

There were sections, however, such as Morris County, where the Revolutionary spirit was universally strong. In the highlands most of the people belonged to two classes, the fairly prosperous farmers and the poor. The latter labored for the ironmasters and other employers or eked out a meager existence with rod and gun. Like their cousins on the borders of the great swamps and marshlands, they were as a class ignorant and lazy. Life's problems bothered them but little so long as they had roofs over their one-room huts and enough in the cupboard to keep the wolf from the door. Around their homes swarmed a ragged brood of tow-headed children for whom the school bells never tolled.

The independent farmer class of the highlands were as industrious and thrifty as any in the state. They did their best to give their children an education and to bring them up as good Christians, which in Morris County was synonymous with Presbyterianism. The many hands of their large families made work easier and added to the comforts of life. For the men there were scores of jobs to be done—the farm work, logging, wood-chopping, land-clearing, hunting, bee-keeping, tool-making, tanning, nail-making, and so on. The women were kept busy preparing food, spinning, weaving, dressmaking, churning butter, and making cheese, soap, candles, and many other things. Their pleasures in life came largely from working together and in the satisfaction of work well done. But there was time, especially during the long winters, for much fun-making and the home-made recreations of the frontier.

Considering the fact that most of the people of New Jersey (and in the rest of America) were enjoying a comfortable and

fairly prosperous existence, it may seem rather remarkable that in a few short years the country was thrown into a bloody war for independence. Talking with his father, Benjamin, Governor William Franklin confessed he could not understand the reason for it. "What is wrong with the government?" he asked. "There is little poverty in the colonies and no oppression." The father tried to explain it to his son but William, although a native-born American, had been in the service of the Crown too long to be able to comprehend the American Revolution. If well fed, he thought (as many in the world still do), mankind ought to forget about liberty and be satisfied to be governed by others.

IV

From the beginning, Colonel Rall's brigade of Hessians found Trenton, in December of 1776, a very uncomfortable position. Patrols from Washington's army crossed the river incessantly where, with bands of New Jersey militia, they waylaid any Hessians who ventured out of the village. At night they crept up and fired upon the outposts and sentries. The constant ambushing and sniping soon unnerved the Hessians and made them extremely jittery. The night before Washington's attack, great excitement prevailed when the whole garrison was alerted by what proved to be only another raid on an outpost.

But if his troops and officers were perturbed by the activity of the Americans, Colonel Rall was not. As customary, his regimental band, standing out in the cold frosty morning, serenaded him while he dressed and ate his breakfast. On Christmas night, while Washington and his men were making their crossing nine miles above Trenton, Rall and his officers sat down to a sumptuous dinner, after which they drank wine and played cards until the small hours of the morning. While they were thus entertaining themselves, a Tory, having been refused an audience with the Colonel, left a note informing him that the Americans were on their way. Rall put the note in his pocket without reading it: business could wait for the morning. As the night was unusually cold and blustery, Rall sent out only a few patrols, who soon reported that there was nothing to fear from the enemy that night.

Meanwhile Washington with twenty-four hundred of his best troops was rowed across the Delaware by his corp of Marblehead fishermen. At about four in the morning the army was ready to begin its descent on Trenton. Sullivan's division took the river road while Washington and Greene with the rest of the army took a parallel route a few miles to the eastward. The night was cold and stormy and the strong wind chilled the men to the bone. Not a sound was uttered, on pain of death, as the men trudged along holding their gunlocks under their blankets or overcoats. During the march two men froze to death, while others wearing worn-out shoes left a trail of blood to mark their progress.

The Battle of Trenton started about nine o'clock in the morning and was all over in less than an hour. The attack was begun almost simultaneously by the two American divisions. Although greatly outnumbered and more or less stunned by the suddenness of the American onslaught, Rall managed to get enough men in line to launch a counterattack. But the Hessians were soon caught in the path of the American artillery, which swept the streets with a deadly fire. After Rall was mortally wounded, the Hessians began to throw down their arms and give up. However, four hundred managed to escape to the southward through failure of General Ewing's Pennsylvania militia to conquer the ice and effect a landing on the New Jersey side.

Nevertheless the victory was an amazing feat of arms. In one stroke Washington had knocked out one of the best fighting units in the British army. Over one hundred of the enemy had been killed or wounded while nine hundred prisoners and a great quantity of supplies had been taken. The American casualties consisted of but four wounded, besides the two who had died on the march. The great rise in American morale engendered by the victory carried the Revolution safely into the next year and on to Saratoga.

Washington returned to Pennsylvania with his prisoners and booty within a few hours after the battle. After resting his army (half of whom on returning to camp had collapsed from utter exhaustion), Washington presently crossed back into New Jersey, seeking another opportunity to strike the enemy while he was

off balance. This time the Pennsylvania militia under Generals Cadwalader and Mifflin and numbering nearly three thousand was at hand to assist him. However on January 2, 1777, Washington found his army confronted by a larger force of British and Hessians led by Cornwallis. By evening Washington's troops were pushed into a dangerous position behind the Assanpink Creek near the Delaware. Fortunately, Cornwallis chose to wait for morning before dealing that blow which he felt certain would put an end to the American army.

As it turned out, however, the very desperate plight of the Americans afforded Washington the chance he was seeking. While the British rested on their arms, Washington, after leaving a detachment to keep the camp fires burning, moved his army silently away on a back road to Princeton, twelve miles away. Cornwallis first realized what had happend when in the morning he heard the distant sound of cannon far to the east.

The Battle of Princeton was joined when General Mercer's column, composed in part of New Jersey militia, was attacked by Colonel Mawhood's troops already on their way to join Cornwallis. The British, who had three regiments, did not realize that Mercer's column was the vanguard of Washington's army. Without hesitation they launched a fierce bayonet charge supported by artillery which routed the Americans and left Mercer mortally wounded on the field. Cadwalader's Pennsylvania militia, coming up next, was likewise thrown into confusion despite Washington's appearance on the scene of battle. About this time Mawhood's third regiment, still in Princeton when the fighting started, arrived and succeeded in pinning down an advanced column of Continentals under Sullivan, who was trying to reinforce Cadwalader. Presently, however, a battery of Philadelphia artillery opened up on the British and halted their advance until the main army could be engaged. Overwhelmed as soon as this occurred, the British broke and fled with the Americans in full chase. At Nassau Hall some of the enemy tried to make a stand but soon surrendered. Those who escaped from the field of battle fled toward New Brunswick with bands of Americans still following and picking up stragglers.

After the battle, with Cornwallis rapidly approaching, Washington marched his army northward to Somerset Court House (present-day Millstone). Realizing now the stamina and courage of the Americans, and fearing that they might still try to seize his war chest at New Brunswick, Cornwallis kept his army marching all night until they finally and utterly exhausted arrived at their destination. Washington then led his army into winter quarters in Morris County.

Thus in the course of two short weeks the fortunes of war had reversed completely. Instead of the Americans, the British were now humiliated and on the defensive. Their occupation of New Jersey was soon reduced to a narrow strip extending from New Brunswick to Perth Amboy in addition to small areas in the region of Fort Lee and Paulus Hook.

Meanwhile, indeed, the British and Tory occupation of Essex and Bergen counties had been contested before Washington's winter offensive began at Trenton. About a week before Christmas, New York and New Jersey militia under Generals Clinton and Heath had descended on Bergen and put the Tories to rout. Already Colonel Ford and the Morris County militia had defeated Leslie at Springfield. In February, however, the British undertook to launch one more attack on the highland bastion before giving up for the winter. But again they were defeated at Springfield, where they were met by General McDougall, who had advanced with Continentals and militia from his base at Chatham.

Washington now boldly made Elizabethtown an outpost. From here his line ran through Springfield, Chatham, Madison, Bernardsville, Pluckemin and on to Princeton, thus compressing the British within a great semicircle. What more could demonstrate the success of American arms than the disposition of the two armies during the remainder of the winter?

Washington's main army set up winter quarters in the Loantaka Valley, two miles west of Bottle Hill (Madison). Here the men built over three hundred log huts in which to pass the winter. Washington resided at the old Arnold Tavern, some distance away at Morristown. To thwart a surprise attack against the army, a strong detachment was stationed at Chatham, a

strategic spot for an outer defense. Here the road to Morristown crossed the Passaic at a point protected by the steep slopes of Long Hill to the south and a great swampy wilderness to the north.

During the rest of the winter the Americans, especially the New Jersey militia, operating usually in small bands, constantly harassed the enemy. Seldom did a patrol or foraging party in those first months of 1777 return to its base without having been attacked or fired upon. The temper of the American vigilance was revealed when Howe, at the head of a strong detachment en route from New Brunswick to Perth Amboy, barely escaped when set upon by nearly a thousand Americans. Confined in their narrow quarters, without proper food or sufficient quantities of fuel, many of Howe's men sickened and died from smallpox and other diseases.

Washington during the winter encampment had his troubles too. His attempts to improve the behavior of his soldiers, who shocked the sober denizens of Morris and Essex counties by their swearing, drinking, and gambling, met with but slight success. Protecting health proved easier than safeguarding morals. Before long a great siege of sickness laid hundreds low with septic sore throat, dysentery, and smallpox. The mortality was frightening and Washington and his doctors knew that the situation was critical. Innoculation was ordered at once for the whole army and dispensaries were set up in certain homes for innoculating also civilians. This prompt action undoubtedly saved many lives within the American lines.

As usual, Washington had the problem of keeping an army together, a problem which never confronted the enemy. With their time expiring, hundreds of men went home, thus whittling the main army at one time down to but three thousand, two-thirds of whom were militia. Many an anxious hour was passed by Washington for fear the British would learn of his weakness and launch a major attack. It was not until May that enough recruits arrived to put the American army once again on a war footing.

In May, 1777, Washington moved his army to the Middlebrook Valley near Bound Brook. From this point he could

threaten any British overland advance on Philadelphia and if necessary be able to withdraw to the safety of the highlands at any time.

About the middle of June, Howe gathered a formidable force at New Brunswick with the intention of drawing Washington into a major engagement on the surrounding flatlands. Howe, in fact, had decided not to attempt an overland push to Philadelphia unless Washington could first be decisively defeated. But Washington (although he had strengthened his right wing by calling in Sullivan from positions farther to the westward) would not venture very far from the protecting slopes of the Watchungs. Thus, having been subjected to constant raiding and sniping by small parties of Americans, and failing in his design, Howe began retreating on June 19. Unfortunately, heavy rains now prevented Washington from falling on Howe's rear, leaving the British free again to burn and plunder along their line of march.

Still designing to force Washington into a major engagement, Howe retreated to Perth Amboy, where he gave every indication that he was about to embark and depart. Then on June 26 he wheeled about with his whole army and pointed his columns toward Westfield and Scotch Plains farther on. The move nearly succeeded in trapping at least part of Washington's army. As it turned out, General Stirling, commanding the American left wing, suddenly discovered that his division was advancing between two parallel columns of the British. Fortunately the latter did not realize what had happened in time to prevent the Americans from beating a hasty retreat to the mountain pass above Scotch Plains.

Failing again to trap Washington's army, Howe returned to Perth Amboy. Thus ended General Howe's campaigning in New Jersey. A month later he set sail for Philadelphia. As the destination of the British was unknown, Washington for some time had to be prepared to march into New England or Pennsylvania. Presently, however, the fleet was sighted off Cape May and on August 22 it was reported entering Chesapeake Bay.

By this time Washington had most of his army in Pennsylvania, leaving to the New Jersey militia the difficult task of

securing the state against the Tories and British operating from Fort Lee, Staten Island, and New York. During September of 1777 a large force of British and Tories under Sir Henry Clinton ravaged much of Bergen and Essex counties, making it quite impossible for New Jersey to send help to Pennsylvania.

Meanwhile Washington failed to halt Howe at Brandywine. But the British, although soon in command of Philadelphia, found themselves in what might become a trap unless they could secure control of the Delaware. The Americans had blocked the river below Philadelphia with a barricade of pikes made of wood and iron and known as chevaux-de-frise. Nearby at the tip of Mud Island they erected Fort Mifflin. In addition, the river was guarded by a fleet of gunboats commanded by Commodore Hazelwood.

Essential to the defense of the river was the command of the New Jersey shore. Guarding a channel off a point called Red Bank, the Americans next built Fort Mercer, named after the hero of the Battle of Princeton. Presently Howe sent twelve hundred Hessians across the river under Von Donop to capture Fort Mercer. The ensuing action witnessed the slaughter of nearly five hundred of the Hessians caught between the fire of Hazelwood's navy and the guns of the fort. The remainder of the Hessians succeeded in getting back to Philadelphia, thanks to the incompetence of General Silas Newcomb, in command of the South Jersey militia.

It is not possible here to relate how the British finally subdued Fort Mifflin, destroyed most of the Pennsylvania gunboats, and opened up the way to Philadelphia for the Royal Navy. To prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy, Fort Mercer was blown up by its garrison of Continental troops. The latter then rejoined Washington in Pennsylvania, leaving South Jersey to be guarded as best it could by the local militia.

That year Washington's main army passed the terrible winter (1777-78) at Valley Forge. Detachments were scattered at many points, with some at Trenton, Princeton, and other New Jersey towns. General Pulaski, for want of sufficient forage in any one place, had to spread his cavalry all the way from Trenton to Chatham.

During the winter, raiding and foraging parties from both armies roamed over the countryside. South Jersey as well as North Jersey now became the scene of raids and counterraids. Informers and spies were everywhere and no move could be made without the greatest secrecy. At one time General Philemon Dickinson, in command of the North Jersey militia, told no one of his plan to raid Staten Island until his men were ready to march. Yet within two or three hours the secret was known by Cortlandt Skinner, the New Jersey Tory who commanded the Loyalist brigade on Staten Island. The attack consequently failed.

In the spring of 1778 General Howe was relieved of his command, his place being taken by Sir Henry Clinton, a cold, hard man, unpopular even with his own soldiers. With France now an ally of America, and the British in danger of being bottled up in the Delaware by the French fleet, the occupation of Philadelphia was no longer tenable. In June, Clinton sent his fleet to New York packed with Pennsylvania Tories and several regiments. His main force, however, he did not care to risk at sea, with the French fleet likely to put in an appearance at any time. Furthermore, an overland march across New Jersey was necessary to prevent Washington from making a lightning descent upon New York before the British could arrive by sea.

Clinton's army crossed into New Jersey on June 18, 1778. Washington's army followed, crossing some miles to the north of the British. Lafayette was sent ahead by Washington with a strong detachment to harass the enemy, who was finding the going very slow, due to the work of the New Jersey militia. The militia chopped down and burned bridges, filled wells with rocks, and constantly subjected the British columns and baggage trains to raids and sniping. In addition, heavy rains, which gave way to an excessive heat wave by the time Clinton reached the vicinity of Monmouth, made the going more difficult and contributed to the wearing down of the British army.

The Battle of Monmouth, which took place on the Sunday of June 28, 1778, was the longest and hardest-fought battle of the whole war. From ten in the morning until sundown the two armies, almost equal in size, were locked in a fierce and unre-

lenting struggle. The battle was joined when General Lee's divisions under Lafayette, Scott, and Wayne ran into a section of the British army near Monmouth Court House. The initial fighting favored the Americans, who had flanked the British rear and were pressing them from the front as well. One of the brigades in the lead was the New Jersey Continental line led by General Maxwell. Soon, however, some of Lee's troops came under heavy fire as the British brought more regiments into the line of battle. Washington's orders were to hold, as the main army would soon arrive. However, Lee issued an order for a general withdrawal, after which the Americans were never able to regain the initative.

When Washington came upon the retreating army, he fairly exploded, so great was his rage over Lee's disobedience. Lee tried to explain but Washington cut him off exclaiming, "All this may be very true, Sir, but you ought not to have undertaken it unless you intended to go through with it."

By one o'clock Washington had re-formed his army on a nearby ridge, after which the fighting continued for five more hours in a sweltering heat said to have been upwards of one hundred degrees. Men died, especially among the attacking and heavily clad Hessians, from sheer heat and exhaustion. Stirling at one time prevented the British from effecting a serious flank attack. Wayne's men holding the center of the American positions on another occasion fired point-blank and riddled a brigade of advancing Redcoats. Then (thanks to Steuben's training) his troops launched a fierce bayonet charge that swept the enemy from the field. Toward nightfall Clinton withdrew, although the fighting did not cease until darkness closed over the armies.

Though the names of most of the generals who led the armies on that eventful day in June have been forgotten, the name of a simple New Jersey farmer's wife lives on. Mary Hays, called by the men "Molly Pitcher," carried water to her husband's artillery battery so the cannon could be cooled and continue firing. When her husband was wounded, she took his place and helped to keep the cannon thundering at the enemy. For her bravery she received the praise of both Washington and Greene.

During the night, the British withdrew unnoticed and by morning reached the rolling country, where Washington did not care to force another encounter. The battle, although a victory for neither side, was a great morale-builder for the American army. On Monmouth field the Americans had proved their mettle. Never again could the British imagine that all they need do to win the war would be to draw the Americans into a general engagement.

Not only was Monmouth the last important battle fought in New Jersey, it was the last one to be fought north of Virginia. From then until the end of the struggle, the war in the north became stalemated, with the British staying close to New York and the American forces hovering in the hills of New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut.

V

Although Monmouth marked the end of the major campaigning in the north, New Jersey continued to be the scene of small battles and endless raids. By land and sea the British and Tories raided the seacoast towns of New Jersey in an effort to wipe out the privateering so destructive to British commerce. Although the principal port, Little Egg Harbor, escaped, the towns of Chestnut Neck, Bass River, and Tom's River were burned.

From Staten Island the raiding into New Jersey never ceased until peace was won. Most daring of the raiders was the cavalry officer Colonel John Simcoe, who in October, 1779, raced into central New Jersey leaving a train of destruction until his troop was ambushed and cut to pieces. On the American side, Major Henry ("Light Horse Harry") Lee made a daring raid upon Paulus Hook in which he carried off 150 prisoners.

At intervals all through the war, attempts were made by American forces to take Staten Island and thus rid North Jersey of a constant source of trouble. General Sullivan's failure with a sizeable force to take the island in 1777 was one of the more important attacks on it. The last large-scale effort to destroy the British forces on Staten Island occurred during the arctic-like winter of 1780. On the night of January 15, three

thousand picked men from the main army at Morristown were carried down out of the hills by a great fleet of sleighs collected from the farmsteads of Morris County. The expedition was led by Lord Stirling. Reaching Elizabethtown, the army crossed the Arthur Kill on the solid ice. But again the island had been alerted and Stirling was obliged to give up the attack and return to New Jersey.

During the crossing, the army was accompanied by militia, as well as by scores of mauraders seeking to avenge themselves for losses suffered at the hands of the enemy. If the expedition was not successful from a military point of view, it was immensely profitable to hundreds of participants. Both Governor Livingston and General Washington condemned the plundering and although officials were successful in restoring part of the booty to the owners, the enemy were afforded a good excuse for stepping up their acts of vandalism. Just ten days after Stirling's attack, the British and Tories struck, burning the Academy at Newark and the courthouse and Presbyterian church at Elizabethtown on the same night.

In 1778-79 Washington and his army spent the winter at Middlebrook, New Jersey.* The next winter, 1779-80, the army was quartered at Morristown. Washington stayed at the Ford mansion while his army occupied the region of Jockey Hollow, two or three miles outside the town. Washington probably selected Jockey Hollow instead of using the old Loantaka Valley site because the new place was less exposed and offered greater security.

At Jockey Hollow the soldiers spent their most miserable winter of the whole war. Arriving in December when the snow was already two feet deep, they slept in tents and brush shelters until they could erect huts with their half-frozen hands. With their huts still unfinished, the ragged, half-starved and pitiful army was struck by a fierce blizzard on January 3 which piled the snow in drifts of six or seven feet. One crisis followed another during the winter at Morristown. One day the men would have nothing but tough beef to eat; another day only coarse army

*See the article by Peter Angelakos, "The Army at Middlebrook," in the PROCEEDINGS of April, 1952.

bread. Finally, with actual starvation facing the army, Washington in desperation ordered the impressment of provisions from the various counties of the state.

Somehow the army survived the winter. But in June, 1780, came more trouble. News of the surrender of General Lincoln's whole army at Charleston cast a great gloom over the land. The country was war-weary. It was possible that the British might yet win by sheer default on the part of America. Flushed with victory, Clinton now returned to New York, intent upon capturing West Point and splitting the American defenses at the most vital point.

It so happened that General Knyphausen, in command of the British troops in the New York area, decided before Clinton's arrival to launch a drive into New Jersey, for no other purpose apparently than to test the strength of the Americans. On the night of June 6, 1780, three thousand British, Hessians, and Tories landed in New Jersey. In the morning their advance was checked near Elizabethtown by a detachment of Continentals and militia under General Maxwell. Falling back along the Galloping Hills road, the Americans, now reinforced by more militia, gave the enemy some stiff resistence at Connecticut Farms. Soon, however, they were obliged to retire, fighting all the way as they fell back toward Springfield. Reinforcements from Washington's main army in the highlands halted the retreat at the Rahway River, whereupon Knyphausen presently disengaged his men and started back for Staten Island.

On their way the enemy burned the village of Connecticut Farms, from whose houses and church the Americans had poured upon them a deadly fire earlier in the day. A short distance away at the parsonage a drunken Hessian came reeling up the path, raised his musket and shot and killed Reverend James Caldwell's wife as she was tending the children.

About two weeks later the British repeated their fiasco by sending a slightly larger force over the road to Springfield. The object of the move may have been to draw Washington's main army back from West Point. If this was true, it failed of its purpose.

At Connecticut Farms the New Jersey militia, still burning

with rage over the murder of Mrs. Caldwell, gave the vanguard of the British a hot reception. After forcing Colonel Dayton and the militia to retire, Knyphausen divided his army into two divisions, sending General Matthews, with Colonel Simcoe in the lead, up Vauxhall road while his own men continued on the main highway to Springfield.

"Murder of Mrs. Caldwell." A woodcut from Barber's *History and Antiquities of New England* (etc.), 1842.

When the British reached the vicinity of Springfield they ran into stiff resistance all along the line. At a bridge on the Vauxhall road, Light Horse Harry Lee held the right wing of the British pinned down, while at the two main bridges over the Rahway Colonel Shreve's New Jersey Continentals and Colonel Angell's Rhode Island brigade subjected the enemy to heavy fire. Meanwhile large numbers of militia had arrived and were entering the battle. Lee's division, however, was presently forced to retreat, making it necessary for General Greene to retire the whole army to the slopes of the Short Hills.

As the day was nearly done and there was no longer any

hope that he could inflict a defeat upon the enemy, Knyphausen, after allowing his men to burn the village of Springfield, returned to Staten Island. On the march back along the road to Elizabethtown, his tired and bedraggled army was harassed by swarms of militia who kept a more or less steady, if none -too-accurate, fire upon the unhappy men.

During the battle at the Rahway River bridges, the Americans ran dangerously low on paper wadding for their muskets. According to tradition, the paper shortage was overcome, however, when the Reverend James Caldwell (for some time a commissary officer with the army) gathered up and distributed the psalm books from the nearby Presbyterian church. "Give them Watts, boys!" sang out the doughty parson as he passed the books along the firing line.

This battle, late in June of 1780, was the last of any size or importance to be fought in New Jersey. Washington's army continued spread out from Connecticut to the Delaware, with its main bases at West Point and Morristown. During the winter of 1780-81 Wayne's Pennsylvania troops were quartered at Morristown, while the New Jersey line was stationed at Pompton and Chatham.

After Wayne's unpaid men staged their successful mutiny at the end of 1780, the New Jersey troops at Pompton made threats of a similar nature. This time Washington, fearing the spread of mutiny, sent five hundred New England troops to the scene of trouble. As no attempt was made to resist Washington's orders or the New England soldiers, it seems that General Robert Howe, their commander, acted unwisely and with unnecessary harshness when he compelled the New Jersey troops to shoot two of the ringleaders of the movement. For this the New Jersey soldiers never forgave the New Englanders. Only a few weeks later the incident provoked a serious riot at Princeton and for the remainder of the war officers were well advised to keep the two apart as much as possible.

Following the victory at Yorktown, and after the conciliatory Sir Guy Carleton took over the British command at New York, New Jersey was left undisturbed while America awaited the coming of peace and the evacuation of the British. No people

in America must have been more thankful for the long-sought peace than those of New Jersey, for no state, it would seem, had suffered or contributed more for the common cause during the war for independence.

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The Revolution of 1681 in East Jersey: a Document

RICHARD P. McCORMICK

THE period of proprietary rule in East Jersey was marked by frequent governmental upheavals. During the governorship of Philip Carteret, which lasted from 1665 to 1682, there were no less than four crises of major proportions, each of which left the government in a state of collapse. Later, under the "Twenty Four Proprietors" (1682-1702), public affairs were to continue in an equally confused state, until finally the proprietors yielded up the government of the province to the crown.

The seeds of future discord had been sown in the first years of the colony's troubled history. From the outset, the right of the proprietors to exercise governmental authority was open to question, for the Duke of York could not legally reconvey to Berkeley and Carteret the powers that he had received from his brother, King Charles II.[1] At least of equal seriousness was the conflict that developed between the people of the principal towns and the proprietary group. Because these towns had been settled prior to the establishment of proprietary rule, they were constantly alert to every opportunity to resist the payment of quitrents on their landholdings and also to challenge in the political arena their proprietary overlords.[2]

The first significant uprising occurred in 1670, when the payment of quitrents was scheduled to begin, and culminated in the "Revolution of 1672." Before order could be restored, another interruption in the form of the Dutch reconquest of the region took place, and it was not until 1674 that Governor Carteret was able to re-establish his government. Armed with new "Directions,

THE WRITER: Dr. McCormick, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, needs no further introduction to the reader. His last PROCEEDINGS article appeared in April, 1952.

[1]This point is adequately explained in Charles M. Andrews, *Colonial Period of American History,* III (New Haven, 1937), 140, 177-78.

[2]The involved story of the Nicolls grants and their aftermath is ably treated in Edwin P. Tanner, *The Province of New Jersey, 1664-1738* (New York, 1908).

Instructions and Orders," which modified the original "Concession and Agreement" on which the government and land system of the province were based, Carteret regained control of the situation and the settlers seemingly gave up their former pretentions.[3] Under the new order, only those whose lands were held under a proprietary patent were to enjoy the status of freeholders. A few years of relative calm ensued, but when Governor Edmund Andros of New York in March, 1680, laid claim to the government of New Jersey in behalf of the Duke of York, Carteret was once again toppled from authority. Andros' rule lasted until March, 1681, when—his actions having been disowned by the Duke—he yielded to Carteret the governorship of the disturbed province.

The Andros interlude served to stir up the colonists to the point where they were again disposed to go on the offensive against the proprietary regime. A meeting of the General Assembly in July, 1681, went off without incident, but at a second session that began on October 19 the deputies from the towns entered into a prolonged wrangle with the governor and Council that lasted until the Assembly was dissolved on November 2. The debate covered a wide range of issues, including the proper qualifications of voters and officeholders, the validity of the modifications made in the original Concessions, the method to be used in collecting quitrents, and the power of the governor to dissolve the General Assembly.[4] The conflict was indecisive, but it would doubtless have occasioned another complete breakdown of government had not the sale of East Jersey to the "Twenty Four Proprietors" ushered in a new era in the troubled career of the province.[5]

The "Revolution of 1681," as it might appropriately be styled, has been little noticed by historians of East Jersey. The published

[3]Tanner, pp. 69-74. In 1674, also, Berkeley disposed of his half interest in New Jersey and East Jersey became the propriety of Sir George Carteret alone.

[4]The principal published source on the controversy is "A Copy of the Proceedings of the Governor Councell and Assembly att a Court held att Elizabeth Towne in New Jersey from Octor the 19th to November 2d 1681," in *Archives of the State of New Jersey,* 1st Series, I, 354-65.

[5]Sir George Carteret died in 1680, and in February, 1682, his estate in East Jersey was sold by his widow, Lady Elizabeth Carteret. In March, 1683, these transactions were confirmed by the Duke of York and the regime of the Twenty Four Proprietors began.

sources are fragmentary, and they give an incomplete picture of what actually transpired during the tumultuous legislative session. New light on the incident is obtained from a manuscript in the State Library at Trenton that has not previously been published.[6] This document, which was drawn up by the governor and Council on November 5 and a copy of which was sent to each town, reveals many elements in the debate that have not heretofore been known and provides a general commentary on the problems that beset proprietary rule in East Jersey. For these reasons, the "Declaration" is here published in full.[7]

Province of East New Jersey

Wee ye Governor & Councell sitting in Elisabeth Towne the fifth day of November 1681: To all his Maiesties Loving Subjects in this said province Greetings.

Know yee that whereas S^{r} Edmund Andross of late did endeavor to unhinge this Govrm^{t} by putting force upon the same, all which caused great dissorder and Confussion in this Province, the which force through the Blessing of God upon the care & dilligence, and at the great cost of the Right Honourable the Lady Elisabeth Carterett Propriatrix thereof, is utterly Remooved and not only ye said force removed but allso freedome obtained, and the said Province cleered from the Great Burthen of Customs.[8] And to the end all maner of Just sattisfaction might be

[6]The document, which bears the endorsement "The Governor & Councells Declaration, 5th Novemb^{r}, 1681," is nine folio pages in length and is bound in a volume incorrectly labelled "Minutes of the East Jersey Proprietors, 1674-1693."

[7]In the interest of clarity, certain liberties have been taken with the text. Punctuation has been added to make evident the meaning of involved passages, sentences and paragraphs have been set off, and quotation marks have been inser^{t}ed where they should properly have been used. No words have been altered nor have any changes in spelling been made. Several lines in the original text have been practically obliterated. These lines, which are here italicized and enclosed in brackets, have been supplied from a contemporary copy of the "Declaration" in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California. The Huntington document (HM784) is in the form of a proclamation addressed to Jonas Wood of Elizabeth Town by Governor Philip Carteret on November 19, 1681.

[8]In November, 1680, the Duke of York disavowed Andros' actions and confirmed in full the rights of the proprietors. The terms of this confirmation brought to an end the collection by the Duke's agents of tariff duties in New Jersey. These duties had been instituted by Andros in 1674 on dubious pretexts. See William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments* (Newark, 1875), pp. 81-82, 89-91, 96; Aaron Leaming and Jacob Spicer, eds., *The Grants, Concessions, and Original Constitutions of the Province of New Jersey* (2nd ed., Somerville, N.J., 1881), pp. 685-86.

Given to all his Maiesties Loving subjects Resideing & inhabiting within the said Province: Writts of summons in the Proprietrix Name Under the seale of this Province was directed to the Respective Constables in the Respective Divissions To inable all such persons as are actually seased of a freehould Estate By Virtue of a Pattent to him or them Granted Under the seale of the Province to Assemble them selves together according to time & in the place Respectively appointed for that purpose To Elect & chuse Persons Quallified as above mentioned to beecome Representatives of the people, and members of the Generall Assembly.[9] In persuance of the power Granted by the said writts of sumons severall persons by the severall names of Enoch Michalson, Mathews Cornellasson, Henery Lion, Beniamin Price, John Ellsey, Ephram Andross, John Gillman, Edward Slawghter, Thomas Johnson, John Curtice, Capt. John Bowne, Peeter Tillton, John Slockim & Thomas White,[10] Presented themselves to us the 26th of July, 1681, as persons Quallified and as the Representatives of the people & promised that they would purge themselves if there were any among them that was not Quallified.[11] And Relying upon their faithfulness in the premisses, they were

[9]The sixth article of the original Concessions of 1664 had stated that all persons who swore allegiance to the King and fidelity to the proprietors should be freemen and, as such, eligible to vote. After the disturbances of 1672, the article was changed to specify that only those who held their lands by proprietary patent could vote or hold office. An election was held annually in each town on the first day of January to choose deputies to the Assembly. Leaming and Spicer, pp. 13-15, 55.

[10]The towns represented were: Bergen (Michielse and Cornelisse), Elizabeth Town (Lyon and Price), Woodbridge (Ilsley and Andrews), Piscataway (Gillman and Slaughter), Newark (Johnson and Curtis), Middletown (Bowne and Tilton), and Shrewsbury (Slocum and White).

[Although the fact is not readily apparant, incidentally, the two Bergen representatives were actually members of the Vreeland and Newkirk families, respectively. The custom of using patronymics such as Michielse and Cornelisse (i.e. "son of Michael," etc.), still prevalent at this date among the Dutch settlers, was soon displaced by the adoption of family surnames. "Mr. Lawrence Androssen" (Laurens Andriesen), named elsewhere in the present document, likewise can be identified as the progenitor of the Van Buskirk family. Cf. C. H. Winfield, *History of the County of Hudson* (New York, 1874), pp. 443, 513; N.J.H.S. *Proceedings,* 3rd Series, III (1898-1900), 159 *et seq.* —EDITOR.]

[11]The requirement that the representatives "purge themselves" was probably an innovation. Normally the legislators took only prescribed oaths of allegiance and fidelity, which did not require them to oust unqualified members. Leaming and Spicer, pp. 85, 91-93. The only instance of a representative's being "purged" occurred in 1680 when William Douglas, a Roman Catholic, was excluded. *New Jersey Archives,* 1st Series, I, 305, 312.

admitted to sitt as Members of the Generall Assembly [page 2] For the space of fowre dayes,[12] and from thence was adiourned to the third tuesday in October Last past, upon which day twelve of the said persons presented themselves againe in Elisabeth Towne & was admitted to sitt as members of the said Generall Assembly. [And] upon occassion & desire of a debate with all the said persons, the which debate was obtained & had,[13] before which time notice was Given to us that John Bowne,[14] one of the said persons, had Given it forth that one of the Governors Councell[15] was not actually a frehoulder in this Province & therefore was not Quallified to bee continued A Member of the said Councell, the which in truth was the cause of a desired debate to the end that Just sattisfaction might bee Given and that it might fully appeare that all the said Councell was & is duely Quallified according to Concessions.

The said debate was entred upon & sattisfaction Given touching the Councell Quallification and proceeding upon the sd debate touching the Conssions [Concessions] made by John Lord Berkley & Sir George Carterett Barronett bearing date the 10nth day of february 1664[16] & the Instrument called Directions Instructions & orders Beareing date the 31th of July 1674.[17] Capt. Robert Vickers one of the Members of the said Councell then & there having the said Consessions in his hand alledged that by the sd Consessions the said John Lord Berkley & Sr George Carterett Barronett had Reserved to themselves & their heires full & Absolute power to make the sd instrument called directions instructions & orders: & that the said instrument is noe incrochment upon the sd Consessions nor infringment of the Liberties thereby Granted or intended to be Granted, the truth

[12]Only one law was enacted at this session. Leaming and Spicer, pp. 137-38.

[13]*New Jersey Archives,* 1st Series, I, 354-65.

[14]John Bowne moved to New Jersey from Gravesend, Long Island, as one of the original settlers on the Monmouth Patent. One of the leaders of his community, he served frequently in the Assembly and in other official positions. John E. Stillwell, *Historical and Genealogical Miscellany,* III (New York, 1914), 32-36.

[15]The individual referred to was Robert Vickers, a man of uncertain origins, who was an intimate of Governor Carteret and evidently something of a scoundrel. He was later accused of falsifying the land records while serving as secretary of the province. See *New Jersey Archives,* 1st Series, X, 4 *et seq.*; Whitehead, p. 99*n*.

[16]Leaming and Spicer, pp. 12-26.

[17]*Ibid.,* pp. 50-57.

of which alledgement will more fully & plainely appeare in the sixt[h] article in the s^d^ Conssessions, a Relation thereunto being had,[18] in which s^d^ debate the said John Bowne not being able to defend to the contrary then & there declared that the Planters is cheated, fourther adding that the said Robert Vickers was a man that no man know from whence had come & desired the said debate might be carried on by some other person, being Greately disturbed at the said Robert Vickers for houlding forth the truth. Upon which the said Robert Vickers demanded of the s^d^ [page 3] John Bowne whether hee at this present bee seized Actually of any Land in this Province by Vertue of a Pattent under the seale of this s^d^ Province, who answered, his Land was his owne, hee purchased it of the Indians.[19] And some other of the s^d^ John Bownes associates prented [pretended] to a Indian title but that not duely obtained as the said Consessions & Instructions Require, Relation thereunto being had will more plainly appeare, and therefore not Quallified according to the said Consessions Instructions & Constitutions of this Governm^t^.

And wee being before this time unacquainted with the Quallifications of the s^d^ persons, which upon enquire is made apparent to us, wee finde that the said pretenders are not the men intended by the writt of sumons to have any share in the Government of this Province & therefore ought not to Assemble themselves & continue together, many of them not actually houlding one foote of Land in this Province by virtue of Pattent under the seale of the s^d^ Province & soe not capable of being ellected nor yett of serveing as Deputies or Representatives of

[18]The controversial sixth article stated that those persons who swore allegiance to the King and fidelity to the proprietors should enjoy the privileges of freemen "until some stop or contradiction be made by us the Lords, or else the Governor, Council and Assembly, which shall be in force until the Lords see cause to the contrary; provided that such stop shall not any ways prejudice the right or continuance of any person that have been receiv'd before such stop or orders come from the General Assembly." (*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.) On the basis of this article, the deputies challenged the right of the proprietor to alter the original Concessions, particularly by making the holding of land under a proprietary patent a necessary qualification for voting and holding office.

[19]Bowne, like the other original settlers of Monmouth, purchased his lands from the Indians. However, by the terms of an agreement made by the Monmouth patentees with the proprietors, each of the patentees was allotted a tract of land and was given a patent for it. (*New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, I, 88; Leaming and Spicer, p. 53.) Bowne received his patent March 18, 1676. (East Jersey Deeds, Liber 3, reversed side, p. 2.)

the people,[20] & before Wee attained to a Right Understanding of the premisses the affore s[d] persons or pretended Representatives in the said Elisabeth Towne then & there with impodent faces asscribed to them selves the stile of the Generall Assembly of the s[d] Province, Whereas had they been persons Quallified Acting alone &c would stand but in the cappacity of Deputies or Representatives of the people & not as the Generall Assembly, for that according to the Consessions of this Goverm[t] the Generall Asembly consists of Governor Councell & Representatives of people, never the less the said persons and pretended Generall Assembly under the hand of one Samuel Dennys[21] who subscribes himselfe Clerk to the s[d] pretenders published severall written papers[22] containing a protistation & Declaration against the very bases & foundation of the very being of his Maiesties Goverment in this province, desireing thereby to absolve them selves & the people from their Alledgance to their King, fidellity to the Right Honorable the Lady Propriatrix, as allso from the Quitt Rents due to her by the Consessions [in] grosse violation of their oathes, [page 4] Which will proove a crying sin & doubtless will Reach heaven.

For the better sattisfaction of all his Maiesties Loving subjects, here followeth a true coppy of som of the afore written papers Dated the 20th of October 1681: "In persuance of the trust Reposed in us doe make this our protestation against the sd Directions Instructions &c and doe hereby declare the inhabitants of this province not oblidged to conforme them selves thereunto."[23] This protistation being made against the s[d] Directions instructions &c is made against the whole body of Goverm[t] for that the word "&c" includes all further. The said pretenders as by a paper under the said hand dated the 5th of this instant Novem[br][24]

[20]Never before had the Governor and Council examined the qualifications of members of the Assembly, although it was well known that many deputies did not hold their lands by proprietary patent. It would have been a relatively simple matter to ascertain whether a patent had been issued to any individual, for careful records were kept of all such transactions.

[21]Samuel Dennis of Woodbridge, clerk of the Assembly.

[22]These are published in *New Jersey Archives,* 1st Series, I, 354-65.

[23]See *ibid.,* p. 359, which dates the "protestation" October 28, and gives a slightly different text.

[24]The Assembly was dissolved by the governor on November 2, but it evidently ignored his orders and proceeded to draft a "declaration" and arrogated to itself the title of General Assembly.

published as followeth: "Bee it Declared & Enacted by this present Generall Assembly that neither the Governor nor his Councell have or ought to have any Jurisdiction power or Authority by bill Pettion Article or any other arbitrary way what soever to examine or draw into Question determine or dispose of the Lands tenaments hereditaments Goods or Chatels of any of the Inhabitants of this Province," in which forme of words the said pretenders assumes to them selves the title of the Generall Assembly, and if soe then this their act is in force. Yet Whereas it now appeares that halfe of their number—Namely John Bowne, & others are not duely Quallified as aforesaid according to ye Concessions Instructions &c Relation thereunto being had will at Large more plainely appeare.

The wicked designes of unfaithfull unconstant & evill dispossed men strickes at Goverment and Reaches as deepe as hell. Itt is well knowne that the Authority the Governor & Councell acts by is derived from the King, & the words complied together as a houl are a sweet morcell for such of the Inhabitants as understand not the Law of England to feed upon, which if Received for food doubtlesse will proove poyson, for that incluseifley the Right Honourable the Lady Propriotrix Quitt Rents cannott bee Collected by disstresse &c, Which is the onely practice and methood in the Kingdom of England.

Now takeing our measures from the Lawes of the Kingdome of England the said Consessions Instructions &c, the said pretenders stand onely in the cappacity of private persons houlding forth a peral [pearl] of nonsence & injustice to deceive the Kings Loving subjects and if posible to draw them into mutines [page 5] And Rebellion against our Soveraigne Lord the King. And as touching the s^{d} Consessions Instructions &c, against which the pretended Generall Assembly hath made a protestation & Declaration as afores^{d}, not with standing that the 2th of April 1679 the then Generall Assembly complied with all and every part of the said Consessions Instructions &c, save onely that they apprehended that the Lord Proprietors was short in the Explanations thereof, for want of those words viz. "to continue to them and their heires for ever." And for the suplying the s^{d} want of the aforesaid partiquler words, Request being made, the Gov-

ernor and Councell made Applacation to the Lord Proprioter & at this Juncture of time are dayly expecting a Returne with Effect, which doubtlesse will bee to the full sattisfaction of all his Maiesties Constant faithfull Loving subjects.[25]

A true Coppie taken from the Records under the Clerks hand of the then deputies as followeth

The 2th of Aprill 1679. Present the Governor, Capt. John Berry, Capt. John Pike, Mr. John Bisship, Mr. Lawrence Androssen, Mr. Robert Vanquellam, Mr. Wm Pardon & Capt. James Bollen

Whereas the Deputies of the Assembly in the behalfe of the Country are unsattisfied as to the Consessions made to them by the Lords Proprietors, being short in the Explanation thereof for want of these words, viz., "to continue to them & their heires for ever" [an]d for their assureance and the countrys sattisfaction: Wee the Governor & Councell whoos names are here above named doe declare that wee doe understand them to bee the true intent & meaning of Sr George Carterett Lord Proprietor of this Province that the Consessions made by him & the Lord Berkley together the Directions Instructions & orders as allso the Declaration & Explanations of the sd Consessions made by the said George Carterett and Given under his hand & seale of the said province beareing the date the 31th day of July 1674, that they are to continue to the people of the Province of New Jersey [page 6] And their heires forever, & that wee will Endeavor to have this our declaration Confirmed by the Lord Proprietor.

Wee the Deputies are sencible that in Reason we cannot Expect that the Governor and councell are further Engadged then what they have declared to this Assembly under the hand of their Secretary, in order to a Confirmation of the Consessions of this Province, beareing date the 10th of febuary, 1664. Signed by Isaack Whitehead, Clerk to the then Deputies.[26]

[25]The concern felt by the representatives about the lack of the phrase in question is not entirely clear. Unfortunately, we have neither the minutes of the Assembly nor the correspondence with the proprietor for the years in question. The only reference I have ever seen to this whole matter is in the document here quoted, with the exception of the brief and unrevealing second paragraph in the acts of the General Assembly for April, 1679. (Leaming and Spicer, p. 131.) The explanation may be quite simple. The original Concessions of 1664 applied to "all and every the Adventurers and all such as shall settle or plant here," and the "Directions" of July 31, 1674, similarly applied to the "inhabitants of the said Province." It is not unlikely that the representatives sought to have it clearly stated that these two documents, containing guarantees of their fundamental rights, were "to continue to them and their heires forever," thus extending the guarantees to succeeding generations. The wording of the Council's minute of April 2, 1679, would seem to bear out this explanation.

[26]This statement by the deputies is in Leaming and Spicer, p. 131.

It may bee Remembred that severall of these present pretenders were members of the said deputies that complyed with the said Consessions Instructions &c. as above recited, by whoos fickle & unconstant minds is sett forth their uneaseness in point of the Lord Proprietors Just Right, their disloyallty to their King, their disrespect to the peace & well faire of this Province.[27] All things considered concerning former & present practices of the same pretended Generall Assembly, together with their want of Quallifications as aforesaid, takeing our measures from the Lawes of England, the said Consessions Instructions &c, wee draw this conclusion: that the said persons are not to bee deemed taken or by us owned as the Lawfull Deputies or Representatives of the people, and therefore it would bee imprudent in us to spend time in debate with persons that in case they had been of Good Abeareance towards our Soveraigne Lord the King, and been found in peaceable practices towards all his Leige people, yett in Respect of the want of other Quallifications. Allthough wee should have drawne into forme & published for Lawes what wee might have judged convenient for the Good of the said province, the same would have signified nothing in point of Law, because the maigor part of the pretended Representatives are not as aforesaid duely Quallified to Joyne with us to that purpose. And for better sattisfaction to all his Maiesties Loving subjects, wee doe declare that as soone as wee did Rightly understand the incapacitie of the pretended Generall Assembly, the Governor would have Ishued forth writs of summons to the [page 7] Respective Townes Commanding them to have ellected and chossen Quallified persons to have suplified [*sic*] the places of the persons aforesaid Unquallified, Had not the Returne of the yeare been upon us, and by the Concessions the Governor

[27]The change in the attitude of the Assembly that occurred between 1679 and 1681 is nowhere satisfactorily explained, but it is probable that the doubt cast upon the proprietor's right to govern by Sir Edmund Andros was an important factor. The death of Sir George Carteret in 1680 may have had some effect. Doubtless there also existed fear of arbitrary action by Governor Carteret and his Council, particularly since the hated Robert Vickers had become a member of that Council. That there were grounds for such fears was demonstrated in November, 1681, when the Council created special courts in violation of the Concessions and dissolved the Assembly. Vickers was held primarily responsible for both of these actions. He was subsequently indicted for these offenses and was tried in the Court of Common Right in 1683 but was found not guilty.

is apointed to Ishue forth new writts of sumons, in due time for the Ellecting Quallified persons upon the first day of January next, according to Consessions, to serve for the insueing yeare, the which writts are allready Ishued forth. And all his Maiesties Loving subjects are hereby putt in minde and Required duely to observe the same, by taking speciall care to suffer noe person to have a voice in ellecting nor yett to bee Ellected a Deputy or Representatives of the people, but such as are Lawfully quallified, that noe breach bee made upon the s[d] Consessions Instructions &c.[28]

To give more full sattisfaction to all our fellow subjects and inhabitants of this Province in point of Reason why wee declared the said pretenders dissolved was because, not persons Quallified &c. to doe the Countrys Buisonesse, and should wee have continued and spent time with them, it would but have deceived and wrongd the country and have been like fanceing dead men to have Life & shadows to have substance. To see dead men walk would bee strange, and to see men that in point of Quallifications are dead in law, for To Give life and being to Lawes would bee as strang.

The Bodey of the Premisses considered, wee well hope that not withstanding all the designes of dissaffected and evill dissposed persons that all his Maiesties Loving subjects will Remain [con]stantly faithful, and not onely themselves [in] pertiquler bee of good abeareance towards our Soveraigne Lord the King and all his leige people, but that they will allsoe bee dilligent in severall stations, to enquire and finde out such person or persons, as are hatchers, devisers, contrivers & inventors of misscheife, against the Royall power of our dread Soveraigne Lord the King in this Province, his Crowne & dignity, and against ye Just Intrest of the Right Honourable the Lady Carterett present propriotrix of this s[d] Province, [page 8] And forthwith make knowne unto all and every such person & persons, soe offending that wee may proceed against them by due course of Law according to the merritt of their offence or offences.

[28]Elections were actually held in accordance with these writs in January, 1682. (*Records of the Town of Newark, New Jersey* [Newark, 1864], p. 87.) Significantly, the obstreperous John Bowne was re-elected by the people of Middletown in disregard of the Governor's injunctions. Stillwell, II, 183.

Wee are very sencible that the seed sowne by S[r] Edmond Andross and his agents Remanes amongst us, and that there are many Restless and uneasey speritted men, that imploys tallants to begett disorder & confusion amongst us, indeavouring to stirr up and perswade the people to deny paying the propriotrix her Quitt Rents, the which by consessions they have covenented to pay, and consequently deny their alleigence to the King & their faith to the propriotrix in a mutinass manner, houlding forth the very face of Rebellion. And as the onely Remeady to prevent the same, the Governor by advice of his Councell aprehend an absolute necessity, in order to the preserveing the Kings peace in this province, at this Juncture of time to withdraw severall Commissions formerly by him Granted, boath Civill & Millitary, as namely the Commissions of Capt. John Berry, Capt. John Sloakem, Capt. John Bowne, Henery Lion & Samuell Denys.[29] And all his Maiesties Loving subjects are hereby Required to take notice, that all the s[d] Commissions, both civill & Millitary, are heareby declared utterly voyd, and that noe person within this Province shall for time to come observe or take notice of any of the above named, John Berry, John Sloakem, John Bowne, Henery Lion, Samuell Denys or any of them as men in commission. And further the Governor doth hereby declare to all his Maiesties constant Loving subjects in this Province that hee will with the advice of his Councell use his utmost endeavor to preserve the Kings [*peace in this province*] hould forth unto all his Maiesties Loving subjects the benifitt of the Good & Whollsome Laws of the Realme of England, which hath been his measures since the Remooval of the late force upon this Government, well hopeing that persons duely quallified with such quallifications as will admitt the present Propriotrix and all other persons to enjoy their Just Rights, will meete him & his Councell at Woodbridge the 8th day of March next Ensue-

[29]For the commissions held by the men named, see *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, XXI, 44-45. The inclusion of John Berry among those proscribed is puzzling, for he was not a member of the Assembly. A large landowner in Bergen County, he was, next to Carteret, the most prominent man in the province. He had served on the Council since 1669, and again in 1680, and was to serve again on the Council from 1683 until 1688. Whitehead, pp. 55 *et seq.*; *New Jersey Archives*, 1st Series, XIII, 3-185.

ing[30] according to writts of sumons allready Ishued forth then & there to Joyn & sitt a Generall Assembly & put in due forme some good & wholesome lawes, according to the constitution of this Goverm^t^ that wee may have some [?] stepes to walke orderly by to the sattisfaction of all his Maiesties Loving subjects, whoos peace & tranquility God alone precerve.

[Page 9] Considering that wee find that in a Generall Assembly held the second of Aprill 1679 as above Recited, there was a full compliance with the said Consessions Instructions &c, save onely as to the perticquler words following, vizt "to them & their heires forever," the which words was then & there onely desired to bee added to the Consessions Instructions &c. and Confirmed by the Lord Proprietor, the which confirmation to all his Maiesties Loving Subjects who keepe faith with the Proprietrix Wee dayly expect. And now in soe much as John Bowne, Thomas Johnson, John Curtis, Samuell Dennis, John Ellsley, John Gillman, Present Members of the pretended General Assembly & appeares to us to bee the cheife Contrivers of a protestation & Declaration by the said Pretenders sett forth against the said Consessions Instructions &c. thereby declareing themselves before God and all the world to bee ffickle unconstant and unstable men even as Water that Runnes as Decent gives way, for that these very men Was Members of the above Recited Genll: Assembly that fully complyed with the said Concessions Instructions &c. in manor & forme above Written, & now Protests & Declares against what they therein owned & Recived, as appears upon Record under the hand of the Clerk of the then Assembly, and to the end that other men may not bee Deceivers, Deceived and Misled, Wee doe Declare that [*two of y^e^ members*] deputies for Bergen hath & doth declare [*against the said protestation and declaration &c. made by*] the said pretenders, and if any other person or persons of [said] pretended Generall Assembly shall any tyme within the space of twenty dayes next after the publication hereof, Present themselves to the Governor or any one of his Councell, & Declare against the s^d^ Protestation & Declaration &c., Every person soe declaring shall for time to come bee by us Judged Deemed taken owned

[30]There is no indication that this Assembly ever met.

& numbred amongst all such persons as are of a good abareance towards our Soveraigne Lord the King, & by haveing Respect to their oathes holds faith with the Right Honourable the Lady Proprietrix. Knowing this, that every person that holdeth aledgence & faith may the boulder and with Reputation apeare amongst men.

And now Earnestly praying that every Prodigall Sonne that hath owned his house may Returne Home and feede upon the good & wholesome Lawes of our Soveraigne Lord yee King and ffather that are holden [*forth to all his leidge people, w(hich) teacheth men better than to strike at gov'ment (?) and to Contend for y^th^ w(hich) is ye right of others as it is to apparant some men of late have donne. And now desiring y^t^ all our Breathren y^e^ Inhabitants of this province may*] Learne that Golden Rule, To witt, to doe unto others as they would bee done unto, and then we shall become a flourishing People, & the Blessing of the Lord will doubtlesse bee our Portion, into whoose hands wee Recomend our selves & all our Loving Brethren.

By Order James Bollen *Secret^y^*

[Endorsements on back of page 9]

The Gov^r^ & Councells Declaration

The Governor & Councells Declaration 5th Novemb^r^ 1681

Indian Folklore in Freneau

PHILIP MARSH

PHILIP Freneau, the first important American poet, was steeped in the classics and devoted to the rule of reason, yet by nature a romantic follower of Rousseau and a speculative primitivist. This primitivism is found in his advocacy of the environment and customs of the American Indian.

His interest in primitive ways preceded his interest in the Indian, for he began "The Pilgrim," an essay series, in the *Freeman's Journal* of Philadelphia on November 21, 1781. The Pilgrim was a world traveler from Switzerland, like his ancestor William Tell a hater of kings and a lover of republics. When his neighbor cut down an oak grove to till the soil, this devotee of forest solitudes sold his patrimony and, now an orphan, began his travels at the age of twenty-one. After many adventures and thirty-four years, he set up residence in a forest near Philadelphia where, in his fifty-sixth year, he was writing a book, *De Anima Mundi.* A follower of Pythagoras, he lived on roots and vegetables, dwelling in a cavern enclosing a grotto near a stream. He was rarely seen in the city, where, he said, "I find considerable amusement in observing the hurry of the great world."[1]

This series revealed an attachment to the ideas of a Rousseauistic primitivism apart from the Indian—a belief in the renunciation of civilization for the simple life and solitude of the forest. Freneau's first Indian poem, apparently, was "The Prophecy of King Tammany," in the *Freeman's Journal* for December 11, 1782; and his only other Indian poem in this newspaper seems to have been "The Dying Indian," which appeared on

THE WRITER is a member of the English department, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Educated at the University of Maine, Harvard, and the University of California (Ph.D., 1945), he has taught also at the University of Texas, California Institute of Technology, the University of Hawaii, etc. He is a well-known student of the Jersey poet, writer, and patriot, Philip Freneau, and is the author of numerous articles concerning him which have appeared in various literary and historical magazines, including the PROCEEDINGS.

[1] *The Freeman's Journal,* Nov. 21, 1781.

March 17, 1784. The first poem presents a melancholy view of the future of the red men, now faced with a vastly superior white power, spoken as Tammany dies on the funeral pyre. The other is a deathbed oration regretting past pleasures of hunting and life among nature's beauty and plenty, and it closes with a few lines on Indian burial customs:[20]

> Prepare the hollow tomb, and place me low,
> My trusty bow, and arrows by my side,
> The cheerful bottle, and the ven'son store;
> For long the journey is that I must go,
> Without a partner, and without a guide.

Freneau's first volume of *Poems,* published in 1786, contains these two poems. Afterward, as a sailor captain, he wrote others that appeared in his *Miscellaneous Works* of 1788: two poems, "The Indian Student" and "The Indian Burying Ground" (one of his best); and some prose pieces, a short story called "The Splenetic Indian," "Narratives, Observations and Advice on Different Subjects," and another short story, "Light, Summer Reading."

"The Indian Student, or, Force of Nature" is the tale of an Indian boy sent to Harvard. There he showed promise, but disliked books and yearned so much for the natural life that he returned to his tribe. "The Indian Burying Ground" is an elaboration of the burial theme lightly touched in "The Dying Indian":[3]

> His imag'd birds, and painted bowl,
> And ven'son, for a journey drest,
> Bespeak the *nature* of the soul,
> *Activity,* that wants no rest.
>
> His bow for action ready bent,
> And arrows, with a head of bone,
> Can only mean that life is spent,
> And not the finer essence gone.
>
> Thou, stranger, that shalt come this way,
> No fraud upon the dead commit,
> Yet, mark the swelling turf, and say,
> They do not *lie,* but here they *sit.*

[2]*Poems* (Philadelphia, 1786), p. 352.
[3]*Miscellaneous Works* (Philadelphia, 1788), p. 188.

"The Splenetic Indian" is a piece of fiction about an Indian chief educated at Dartmouth, Tomo-cheeki by name, whom the narrator accompanies to his wigwam in the wilderness. There the Indian belittles the so-called benefits of civilization, praises the happiness found in the divine solitudes and beauties of the forest, and criticizes white education for not teaching "moral and social honesty." He sadly predicts the end of his race within three centuries, and finds solace only in liquor.[4]

"Narratives, Observations and Advice" describes another learned Indian, an orator; but it is largely a narrative of a voyage in the West Indies during a storm. Among the passengers is an Indian priest; when a woman despairs of life, he helps her write a will; and in discussions he represents truth, honesty, and freedom in contrast to the whites' hypocrisy and tyranny.

"Light, Summer Reading" is another fiction, a satire on sentimental love novels, including a ridicule of white preachers. At the funeral of the lovesick girl, an Indian physician (who cured by strong doses of the essence of tobacco), in the absence of the doctor of divinity (who could not preach without a Bible), preaches a cheerful sermon:[5]

> Fair daughter of the morning, thou didst not perish by slow decays. At the rising of the sun we saw thee; the ruddy bloom of youth was then upon thy countenance: in the evening thou wert nothing, and the pallid complexion of death has taken place of the bloom of beauty.—And now thou art gone to sit down in the gardens that are found at the setting of the sun, behind the western mountains, where the daughters of the white men have a separate place allotted to them by the spirit of the hills . . . That which derived its origin from the dust, shall indeed to the dust return, but the fine etherial substance does not cease to think, and shall be again employed by the immortal gods to put the forms of things in motion . . .

In 1790, having married and retired from the sea, Freneau became a contributor and assistant editor to the New York *Daily Advertiser*. In the August 31, 1790, issue he evidently contributed an essay, "On the Advantages of Steadiness," which mentions *"Opay Mico* (one of M'Gillivray's Indian Kings, lately departed from this city)." Thus began a long series of essays

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 122-28.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 266-67.

describing the Creek Indians and criticizing the white man's ways.

Alexander McGillivray was a French-Indian halfbreed, son of a Loyalist trader and politician of Georgia, and devoted to his people's welfare. In 1790 he came to New York, then the country's capital, and negotiated a treaty granting him a $1200 pension. But he had been appointed Spanish commissary for trade with the Creeks; and when his Spanish pension was increased to $3500, he repudiated the New York treaty in 1792. His visit to the American capital, and especially his Indian companions, apparently aroused Freneau to think once more about the broad contrasts between prmitive and white ways of life.

During September, 1790, Freneau published three essays by "Opay Mico, one of the Indian Kings from the Little Tallassee country, lately departed from this city," pretending in a footnote that these were papers "discovered since his departure, written in the Tallassee language." The first is "A Short Discourse upon Drunkenness" (September 1), and the third is "A Discourse on Horse Shoes" (September 17). It is the second (September 8) that is of real interest to us—"Reflections on my Journey from the Tallassee Towns to the Settlements on the river Hudson." This is another lamentation over the decline of the red men's sway and a description of their former content in the enjoyment, not the destruction, of nature. Thus Opay Mico describes their one-time happiness:[6]

> Happy in what nature had voluntarily bestowed upon them, they put her not to the torture to gratify fancied wants—She was their mother, and she fed them plentifully . . . Our ancestors multiplied exceedingly through the forests: their quarrels were but of a short continuance; and most commonly the old men, the heads of the tribes, composed all disputes before they came to extremity. Hospitality and mutual good offices were, in those days, universal. Once a year the tribes that resided towards the setting of the sun, came down by divisions of families to enjoy the pleasures of the shores. The dogs, and the swine, and the tame deer, belonging to the household, followed them. They encamped together in the forest, and slept on a bed of leaves unsuspicious of danger. After having laden themselves with the good things of the salt sea, they again

[6] *Daily Advertiser*, Sept. 8, 1790.

returned in safety, and in the depths of forests co-eval with the age of the earth itself, beheld the succeeding storms pass over them. The song and the dance, and the fire of many sticks banished the dullness of the winter from their minds, till the vernal season was once more seen ad vancing from the mountains of the south.

Opay laments the mutual antipathy of the reds and whites, but says it is the same with the animal and vegetable kingdoms; and he fears that his race will disappear, remembered only "in the song and fable" or possibly "in the page of some fortunate historian."[7]

In 1791 Freneau established the *National Gazette* in Philadelphia, where the national capital had been moved. As it was a strongly political newspaper, he found little time for creative writing. Yet he did compose another Indian essay. The ship *Delaware's* prow was decorated by a carved Indian head which Freneau, in a dream, fancies delivering an oration about the rights of the red men, mingled with laments for their destruction and oppression by the whites, and closing with a passionate reproach:[8]

> You send armies . . . not to convert, but to destroy us; to burn our towns and turn us out naked to the mercy of the elements; to shoot us down wherever they can see us, and propagate a principle as disgraceful to your pretended age of philosophy as it is repugnant to truth and reason, *that the rights of an Indian are not the rights of a man!*

In 1795 Freneau, having retired to his farm in New Jersey, set up a country weekly there. This little newspaper, the *Jersey Chronicle,* is notable chiefly for the best of Freneau's prose, a series of Indian essays, supposedly by Chief Tomo-Cheeki of the Creek Indians.

Actually there was a Tomo-Cheeki, an elderly, intelligent Georgia chief generous to the whites and able to persuade other tribes to be friendly too. He welcomed Oglethorpe, founder of the colony, and helped him make a peace treaty in 1733. Oglethorpe took Tomo with him to England, along with several other chiefs, in 1734, where they were presented to the royalty. Tomo made addresses to the King and Queen, and closely ob-

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] *National Gazette,* Jan. 12, 1792. Reprinted as a Tomo-Cheeki essay in the *Jersey Chronicle,* July 25, 1795.

served the white civilization there with great interest. On his return home, he became interested in Christianity, though not converted, before his death in 1739 at the age of ninety-seven.[9]

The Tomo-Cheeki of Freneau's creation is evidently younger, a member of a group of treaty-making chiefs visiting Philadelphia, whose "decadent" civilized ways he sharply criticizes while yearning for his homeland's simpler and more beautiful life. He is a sincere, thoughtful person who makes notes of the city's customs and people. The fifteen essays[10]—again supposedly translated from an Indian manuscript that the writer had left behind—cover a variety of subjects: a satire on the American Philosophical Society, the changes white society has made in virgin America, a protest that Indians were not diabolically cruel, regrets that mankind has strayed from the simple life, wonder at the whites' huge ships and great accomplishments, yet their continuing superstitions, a criticism of civilized laws and responsibilities and their resultant endless desires, a description of the retired, restless sea captain, a talk on drunkenness, a story of travels among Indian tribes, an appeal for white justice, a discussion of the golden age and its possible return, an attack on white vanity (especially the love of portraits), and a dream of the extermination of mankind and replacement by a superior being dominated by benevolence.

The essays most intriguing to a student of folklore, however, comprise only three. Number V, "Indian Notions and Reflections," contains reminiscences of ancient Indian life:[11]

> The most ancient Indian nations on this continent are but mere children in antiquity! When we travel through the vast silent wilderness, and far beyond *the Father of Streams* [the Mississippi], the discerning eye beholds the places where mighty cities once stood, with evident remains of their towns, their pyramids, their fortifications, their gate-ways, and their lines of defence. There, once the warrior stalked, and the merchant exposed his precious wares for sale; there was heard the song, and the dance, and the voice of the instrument of many strings.—But, all, now, is silent: the orator is no more heard in the council house: the lovely glittering female has disappeared—and the foot of the huntsman

[9]Charles C. Jones, Jr., *Historical Sketch of Tomo-chi-chi, Mico of the Yamacraws* (Albany, 1868).

[10]The fifteenth is a continuation of the fourteenth.

[11]*Jersey Chronicle,* Middletown Point, N.J., July 4, 1795.

alone passes with the swiftness of an arrow over those deserted spots which were for ages the seats of elegance, and all the refinements of polished and social life.

Number VI, "To the Big Loom, a white man of this Village," is the story of how Moncachtape, a wise Indian of the Yasous, sought to find the country of his ancestors. He traveled north and northwest on the Mississippi and Missouri rivers, then north to a river of clear water—the "Sippim Horegon"—down it, thence to many Indian villages, and at last to the Pacific Ocean, where whites in "two great canoes" landed and were driven off. After living with the coastal Indians further north (probably in British Columbia), Moncachtape returned home. The narrative is often interesting:[12]

The frosts of the winter being ended, he embarked in a canoe with some provisions, a pot to cook them, and some skins to sleep on, and passed down with the stream of the river, which they called Sippim Horegon, or river of the west.

In a little time, he came to a very small nation, whose big captain happening to stand on the banks of the river, bluntly demanded, *Who art thou? How darest thou to sail on this stream? What business has thou here with thy short hairs?*

My name (replied he) is Moncachtape—I come from the nation of the *Otters*—though my hair is short, my heart is good; and the design of my journey is to seek the great ocean and nations of the west!

The big captain replied, "Though you might have come from the nation of the *Otters,* I plainly see you are not one of their tribe; and I wonder how you have learned their language."

Moncachtape was then invited to remain in the village as long as he pleased, whereupon, he landed, and told the chief that he had been ordered by the head-man of the Otters to see an old man in this village, whose name was the *Great Roebuck*. This happened to be the father of the chief: he ordered him to be called, and the old man received him as if he had been his own son . . .

Number VII, "Written about Midnight," describes the easy, open life of the Indian and his freedom from the white men's fears, worries, and responsibilities:[13]

In our country . . . a tree, on occasion, will serve us for a house. Our largest wigwams are erected and finished in a day, and admit the

[12]*Ibid.,* July 11, 1795.
[13]*Ibid.,* July 18, 1795.

light and air in abundance. In summer, we allow the winds to blow freely through the sides, made of cane and wattles: in the winter, the fire is placed in the middle, and all enjoy an equal share. Our woods supply us with plenty of fuel, and for nothing; while *here* it is brought to the inhabitant in little niggardly parcels, and at the cost of much money . . .

In the morning early we rise from the bed of skins to hail the first dawn of the sun. We seize our bows and arrows—we fly hastily through the dews of the forests—we attack the deer, the stag, or the buffaloe, and return with abundance of food for the whole family. Wherever we run it is amidst the luxuriant vegetation of Nature, the delectable regale of flowers and blossoms, and beneath trees bending with plump and joyous fruits.

By this time the stomach receives its food with a pleasure unknown to the puny sons of this huge village. Our drink is the milk of the goat, mingled with the clear water of the stream flowing over the white sand or yellow pebbles—It is that which every wise Indian prefers, because it is the drink prepared by the hand of NATURE . . .

We are strangers to the cruel passion of jealousy, and consider that man as under the dominion of the foolish spirit who is distrustful of his wife. Our young women live constantly under the golden star of Love; nor do we think the less of them if, before they are married, they indulge in that amiable passion.

In the forests, we acknowledge no distinction of property. The woods are as free as the waters; and the odious land-mark was never seen to arrest the foot of the hunter . . .

Surrounded by forests that have no lines of boundary, we fear no storms—they blow far above us, and are spent in the regions over the tops of the trees. We are in dread of no droughts, for nature has so overshadowed the soil that the sun-beams cannot scorch it . . .

Our manner of life renders us alert, cheerful, and courageous. We live in the midst of content, and when the time comes that we must depart of the silent mansions of our fathers, we depart without regret, because we are sure that our sleep, though in reality it may be long, can be, to us, but a moment. When that interrupting pause of life is once made, a total oblivion of the past ensues; but we suppose we shall soon revive, young, vigorous, and beautiful, to enjoy once more the chace of the forest and the pleasures of the wigwam.

In the *Time Piece* of New York, in the spring of 1797, Freneau republished his "Tomo-Cheeki" essays and added two more. In these he deprecated the white man's tendency toward gloom and overvaluing his importance in a universe that ignored him; he wondered about the tide and the moon's influence, and lamented

the hypocrisy of the whites. In one essay (May 22, 1797) there is an interesting narrative about the age of the mammoth, when the Indians were forced to leave the open and live in caves:

> Time has been when the beast of mighty bones ranged over the mountains & struck terror into the hearts of our men of old moons. He came down from the hills and destroyed whole villages in a moment; and, for a time, none were safe from his teeth but such as dwelt in caverns and hollow places of the earth . . . The red people hid themselves in dismay from the tooth of the destroyer, passed their existence in terror, and were glad when they could go to sleep in the caves and vaults of the ancient dead men.
>
> At last, the eternal thunderer darted his arrows on the huge and greedy animal that devoured our forefathers, and shewed no mercy to the tender infant. Instantly, he sunk into the ground, and appeared no more, to torment the sons of the woods.

One naturally wonders at the sources by which Freneau became a propagandist for Indian primitivism and customs. Nowhere does he direct the reader to materials that he used, and so we are forced to speculate; but the speculation is easy. He was a wide reader, and doubtless had dipped into such books as William Burke's *Account of the European Settlements in America* (London, 1757), whose Part II is "The Manners and Customs of the original Inhabitants"; Henry Timberlake's *Memoirs* (London, 1765), a first-hand account of travels in the heart of the Cherokee country; James Adair's *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), by an Indian trader who lived with Indians for forty years; Jonathan Carver's *Three Years Travels Through the Interior Parts of North-America* (Philadelphia, 1789); and William Bartram's *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida,* published at Philadelphia in 1791 and containing high praise for the Creek Indians and their happy way of life.

But ever since Freneau had learned to read, he had found the reading atmosphere filled with Indian stories, descriptions, and poems. Montaigne's "Of Cannibals" praises the savage life as free of civilized ailments; so does his "Of Coaches," particularly the New World's inhabitants. Voltaire's "L'Ingenu" is the story of a young Huron Indian in Brittany, a model of simplicity and loyalty. Addison's "Spectator No. 50" describes

four Indian kings in England, fictionizing their reactions as recorded in another "discovered" manuscript. Another essay series, "The Universal Spectator," from the *London Magazine,* which circulated freely in America, on January 30 and February 6, 1742, published "An Indian's Observations on the Manners of the English." (Incidentally, the Freneaus evidently read the *London Magazine,* as a copy of the 1733 volume, with Freneau's autograph and two poems in his hand, is at the Matawan, N.J., Library.) Joseph Warton, at times a primitivist, wrote a poem, "The Dying Indian," a preview of the Happy Land after death and a criticism of white ways. Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations* (New York, 1727) was a well-known work throughout the eighteenth century. Even Samuel Johnson in his "Idler No. 81" has an Indian chief commenting on past Indian happiness and Utopian ways of life; and a frank imitator of this essay, in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1765 (page 526), presents a poem, "An Indian's Speech to his Countrymen." This magazine was in America the most popular and widely circulated of all the English periodicals of the time. Many other examples of the popularity of Indian themes could be cited.[14] "The Death Song of a Cherokee Indian," mistakenly attributed to Freneau, was very popular; Mathew Carey's *American Museum,* a popular and successful Philadelphia magazine of 1787 to 1792, presented many Indian pieces, both poetry and prose;[15] Crevecoeur's idealization of life close to the wilderness may have influenced Freneau.[16]

Much of this material, particularly the fiction, plays, and poems, was the product of a generally rising romantic imagination, which in the eighteenth century insisted on making of the humble Indian a noble savage, both a hero of ingenuous humanity and a victim of the evils in civilization. This treatment was due, according to Benjamin Bissell, to the fact that the

[14]Frank E. Farley, "The Dying Indian," *Kittredge Anniversary Papers* (Boston, 1913), pp. 251-60.

[15]By a count, the five years of the *American Museum* yield a total of forty-six Indian items. One of April, 1790, may have influenced Freneau: "Some account of the Creek Indians," by "T.E."

[16]Jean de Crevecoeur ("J. Hector St. John"), *Letters from an American Farmer* (London, 1782). This book was very popular in Europe, and influenced the English romanticists, Coleridge, Southey, Byron, Lamb, and others.

age "rejected authority and tradition" and "sought to establish the naturalistic interpretation of life."[17] The "noble savage" ideal, says Hoxie Fairchild, is related to "the plastic influence of natural objects, ingenuous and passionate love, the religion of nature and the revival of primitive poetry . . . sensibility, humanitarianism, and political radicalism, and to the cult of the peasant and the child."[18]

How much, then, of Freneau's "Indian folklore" is true folklore? This is a problem for an objective study by a hard-headed Indian antiquarian. Undoubtedly there is a good deal—and some probably from first-hand observation, as Sailor Freneau visited West Indian and coastal ports for many years. The burial customs, the peaceful life of Southern Indians, their pride of race, their courage, their love of primitive ways, their occasional simple eloquence, their melancholy at viewing their declining numbers and power—all these surely represent real folk ideas. In Freneau's hand, of course, they are highly romanticized in good poetry and poetic prose, a fact that explains largely their continuing hold on our imagination.

[17]Benjamin H. Bissell, *The American Indian in English Literature of the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, 1925), p. 213.

[18]Hoxie N. Fairchild, *The Noble Savage: A Study in Romantic Naturalism* (New York, 1928), p. 498.

Early Campaigns in North Carolina

The Diary of Private Edmund J. Cleveland, Company K, 9th New Jersey Volunteers

EDITED BY EDMUND J. CLEVELAND, JR.

[*Continued from page* 64]

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 1864*

An eventful day. Last night Lt. Townley sent for me to come to his tent. He pointed out to me the clause in Col. Zabriskie's order which stated that those 17 mos. men who signed their names might remain at Newport News until he could see Gen. Butler and learn on what terms they could be re-enlisted. I subscribed my name and, accordingly have remained in camp.

The "anti-vets" took down their tents and were ready to leave at a moment's notice, but they did not depart until this afternoon. During the evening a large crowd gathered in front of the Colonel's tent and cheered. A spokesman asked that those left behind be sent with us to Jersey. The Colonel said that he would try to have those who did not re-enlist to return with the regiment.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 23, 1864

We have been busy all day correcting enlistment papers. Company officers make many mistakes.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 24, 1864

Until a late hour last night I was at work in Lt. Pullen's office.

New recruits who came today say that the barracks in Newark are being fitted up for us. They are a sociable set of fellows.

MONDAY, JANUARY 25, 1864

We were busy until midnight, examining and correcting rolls.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1864

After we finished the papers, Bosenbury took them to Capt. Kent's office. When I left, he had not yet arrived.

*The entries for January 22 through 31 were omitted from their proper sequence. Those covering February 1-5 were published in the January PROCEEDINGS, pages 62-64.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1864

The mustering officer came to camp this afternoon and swore in the men by companies. They were immediately paid the Essex County Bounty of $350—all in green backs.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 28, 1864

The new recruits left camp for Portsmouth in charge of Lt. Rogers, Co. C. It is thought that they will rejoin the regiment when we return from Jersey.

We expect to start next Monday. We hear that the people of Jersey City are preparing a reception for us.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 29, 1864

Lt. Pullen told me last night that I might report to my company. This ends the term of detailed duty.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 30, 1864

Detailed on general police this morning. This evening we received orders to pack up and be ready to board the transports in the morning. The boys are very joyful. We learn that the "anti-vets" of the regiment are to be transferred to the Army of the Potomac.

SUNDAY, JANUARY 31, 1864. *Off Fortress Monroe, on Board Transport, "Virginia"*

With daylight we began preparations to leave camp. We lolled around until 11:00 a.m. when we formed line. We left our tents standing but took along commissary stores, and marched to the upper wharf.

As soon as we were loaded the vessel sailed and we are anchored off Fortress Monroe. Co. K was the last to get on the vessel. We found things so crowded that the majority had to put their knapsacks out on deck. The kind-hearted mate seeing our predicament took compassion on us and suggested that we sleep on the cracker boxes in the hold, and we readily did so.

Peer and I are now resting on a bed of hay which the boys have strewn over the planks, boxes and coal. This is much more comfortable than the dampness and chill of the upper deck. I am now writing by the uncertain light coming in through the hatchway.

Last night after tatoo all of us 17 mos. men signed an agreement to re-enlist when we have served 18 mos., provided we get the county bounty of $350, and to be re-mustered in when we have served two years, provided the government is still paying the same veterans' bounties. The terms are fair enough. We are off for good old Jersey and will soon reach New York.

Notwithstanding a cold and damp day with promise of a storm, and our difficulties and inconveniences, the boys have been merry.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1864*

I went up from the depot to our house. After ringing the door bell for some time and arousing no one, I went over to Aunt Ann's, where I spent the night. After I had breakfast I went over home. They were all expecting me and gave me a hearty welcome.

For the next four weeks Ed Cleveland enjoyed his furlough with his family and friends. But during this period his mind was not wholly free from thoughts of military service. The following entries from his diary tell the story of his unsuccessful effort to obtain an officer's commission.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1864

This morning I called on Mrs. Charles Williamson. I spent some time talking with her and Mrs. Lewis, who recently lost her daughter. Both Mrs. Williamson and Mrs. Lewis declared that I was worthy of being a commissioned officer and said that their husbands would use their influence to help me. They suggested that I first get a letter from Lt. Townley.

Later I met Lt. Townley on the street and told him about the "suggestion." He seemed much delighted with the idea and said he would take pleasure in giving me a recommendation.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1864

The first thing this morning I walked out to Lt. Townley's home, "a right smart tramp" from the city. The lieutenant received me kindly. He immediately wrote out and gave me the following letter:

*See the footnote which accompanies the entry for January 22.

Elizabeth, N.J., February 13, 1864

To His Excellency Joel Parker, Governor of the State of New Jersey,

Permit me briefly to bring to your notice, Edmund J. Cleveland, Co. K, 9th N.J.V. During the past year and one half I have been the only commissioned officer serving with Co. K, and I have realized the value of his services. Not only is he faithful to any trust but is honest, sober and industrious. Should he receive a commission at your hands he would be found abundantly capable of sustaining his position as a line officer. He has a thorough knowledge of tactics and of his duty, not only in camp but also in the field. Hoping that this may meet with a favorable reception, I am

Respectfully your obedient servant

Jon. Townley, Jr. *1st Lt. 9th N.J.V.*

After receiving this I went to the depot and took the 11:00 a.m. train for Jersey City. While waiting on the platform a man named Conrad suggested the propriety of my joining the Union League which will meet next Monday evening at Library Hall. Later in the day I was informed by Mr. Elias Derby that I had been accepted for membership.

At Jersey City I called at the law office of Col. Zabriskie's father and was told I could find the Colonel at No. 18 Sussex Place. I found the Colonel home and gave him a note from Lt. Townley. He invited me upstairs. After asking me a few questions, he wrote and gave me the following letter to hand to Governor Parker:

Jersey City, N.J., February 13, 1864

Sir:

Edmund J. Cleveland of Co. K of my regiment has applied to me for a recommendation to your excellency. I have known him for some time and have always regarded him as a good, efficient soldier. He is also an intelligent, well-educated man. His company commander speaks very highly of him.

Very respectfully your obedient servant

A. Zabriskie, *Col. 9th N.J.V.*

The Colonel told me that he had many similar applications lately and had refused most of them. Even while he was writing there was another member of our regiment in the parlor waiting. I naturally supposed it was for the same purpose. In the afternoon I returned to Elizabeth.

At the suggestion of A.E.M. I called on Dr. M. M. Wood-

ruff and Dr. James E. Green. Later I went to the home of Chancellor Williamson. I secured letters from all three gentlemen.

I am much elated over my success today. I plan to visit the Governor next Monday.

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1864

Captain Ritter today informed me that it requires 40 recruits to get a captaincy and 30, a lieutenantcy. This morning I saw Mr. Robert S. Green, Surrogate of Union County and secured a letter from him.

Father says that I can get a personal introduction to the Governor from Senator Jenkins of this county. Later I visited the senator in his home, and he promised to introduce me to the Governor on Tuesday morning.

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1864

This morning I secured a letter from Mr. F. W. Foote, my old schoolmaster who is now editor of the N.J. Journal.

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1864

I was initiated into the Union League last evening. There were 18 candidates, among them Sergt. George Peters, Co. G, and Warren R. Lyons. I saw that the U.L. is composed of the best men in town.

Left for Trenton on the 7:45 a.m. train. At the State House I had to wait for Senator Jenkins as he was busy with his duties. When he was free he introduced me to the Governor.

Governor Parker is a large and noble looking man, very cordial in his manner and a perfect gentleman. In a short time he examined the letters which I presented, asked me a few questions, and took me to the office of Adjutant General R. F. Stockton. The Governor and the General spent some time looking over the papers. The result of their conversation was, that the Governor promised me that I should have a lieutenantcy if I could recruit 30 men for the 9th N.J.V.

I shall immediately try to get these men. I am much elated at my success and shall get to work as soon as possible.

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1864

On the advice of Mr. Foote and Dr. Woodruff I have been

running around all day seeing members of the Board of Chosen Freeholders. Wm. Lester and Captain Spencer are strongly in favor of increasing the bounty. I went to Morris Ave. and called on Mr. J. Williams Crane and he referred me to Mr. Luke Higgins, who is a member of the committee on bounties. I should like to have Director Brown call a meeting of the board and have them increase the bounty to $350.

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1864

This morning I saw Mr. Luke Higgins. He says that as soon as a certain bill passes the legislature the board of the freeholders will meet and probably increase the bounty. Encouraging surely! If the bounty is not increased it would be folly for me to try to get more recruits.*

MONDAY, MARCH 7, 1864

I did not arise until 9:05 a.m., owing to being out so late last night. I proceeded to the depot and took the 9:40 a.m. train for Newark. I walked to the house of Tunis Peer, No. 38 Washington St. He was putting on his knapsack, preparatory to taking the noon train. I witnessed the affecting separation of him and his wife.

(Note. Peer never returned to his home. He was captured at the Battle of Drewry's Bluff, May 16, 1864. He died in Andersonville Prison, Georgia, August 20, 1864.)

TUESDAY, MARCH 8, 1864. *Camp Perrine, Trenton, N.J.*

Early this morning I packed my knapsack. Then I spent the rest of the time saying good byes to members of my family and friends. Some saw me off on the 1:00 p.m. train for Trenton. I arrived at camp shortly after four o'clock. About two thirds of Co. K have reported. Sergt. Wright is in command. He is soon to receive a lieutenant's commission. I have not yet seen Lt. Townley or received my rifle. I exchanged C.D.V.'s with Corp. Townley. The boys are very merry. Plenty of pie women and apple vendors are around. Hear that our regiment leaves tomorrow. Peer, Ford and I share an upper bunk.

*Evidently the Board of Freeholders took no action and the bounty was not increased. Essex County paid $350 and Union County only $250. Naturally those who desired to volunteer for military service would make a short journey to the neighboring county where they would receive the larger amount of money. So ended Ed Cleveland's endeavor to obtain an officer's commission.

[*To be continued*]

SMALL & SUNDRY

What! A whole dollar?

"The Irish laborers engaged in enlarging the Delaware and Raritan Canal near Trenton, struck yesterday for $1 per day, having hitherto been employed at 75 cents. They are several hundred in number, and are now patrolling the canal banks preventing those who are inclined from working. The Company will not probably yield to their demands, nor allow them to work again at the old prices, and measures will be taken to prevent a riot."—*Newark Daily Advertiser,* Jan. 22, 1852.

"A Riot in Trenton occurred yesterday. It seems that several hundred Irishmen employed upon the Canal at 75 cents per day, struck for $1 each, which the employers refused to give. A number of them returned to their work, and the idlers proceeded to stop them. The police however arrested them, and on their way to the Mayor's office an Irish shoemaker exhorted them to take care of themselves, as this was a free country, and exhorted them to fight for liberty, &c.—An excitement ensued among the gang, several of whom escaped, and one or two of the officers were severely handled. Nine of them, however, were secured and committed to jail."—*Ibid.,* Jan. 23, 1852.

For the skin

In a recent issue was quoted a runaway-apprentice notice of 1813 published by a Newark hairdresser named William Gardner. In 1802 the same gentleman, described as a perfumer, was offering to the public a truly marvelous cosmetic lotion. His extravagant claims for the concoction ($1.25 per pint), supported by sundry testimonials, have an uncomfortably modern ring.

"Gardner's Genuine Beautifying Lotion is acknowledged by many of the most eminent of the faculty to be infinitely superior to any other Lotion that ever has been used, for smoothing and brightening the Skin, giving animation to beauty, and taking off the appearance of old age and decay. It is particularly recommended as an excellent restorative for removing and entirely eradicating the destructive effects of Rouge, Carmine, &c. Those who through inadvertency make too free use of those artificial heighteners of the bloom, will experience the most happy effects from using Gardner's Lotion, as it will restore the skin to its pristine beauty, and even increase its lustre. It expeditiously and effectively clears the skin from every description of blotches, pimples, ringworms, tetters, and prickly heat. A continued series of the most satisfactory experience, has fully proved its superexcellent powers in removing freckles, tan, sun burns, redness of the neck and arms, &c. and restoring the skin to its wonted purity. In short, it is the only cosmetic a lady can use at her toilette with ease and safety, or that a gentleman can have recourse to, when shaving

has become a troublesome operation, by reason of eruptive humors on the face . . . "—*Guardian; or, New-Brunswick Advertiser,* September 30, 1802.

Port Elizabeth's plague

During the 1790's there were several frightening outbreaks of yellow fever, notably in the Philadelphia area. Doctors, ministering ineffectually to those whom the disease attacked, observed its course, pondered the cause of its spead, and wrote learned monographs about it. One medical journal printed "A Short Account of an Epidemic Yellow Fever which prevailed in the Autumn of 1798, in the Village of Port-Elizabeth, New-Jersey," being a letter of August 29, 1799, by Dr. George Lee, of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia. He first describes the weather and topography, quoting from a letter of Dr. Azel Peirson, who "practised physic in Port-Elizabeth at the time the epidemic existed there, and was the only physician of respectability in that place."

"In addition . . . the creek on which Port-Elizabeth is situated, called *Manimusking* . . . some years ago, ran a north-westerly course, and was navigable, many miles above the town, to wood sloops; but, within a few years, its course was obstructed, at the place where the village stands, by the formation of a dam across the tide. This circumstance, which still continues, has given rise to the name *Dam*, by which the place is yet vulgarly denominated. The waters of this creek . . . are . . . generally muddy, except in a very dry time. The meadows on each side of the [Maurice] river and creek, especially those on the latter, are commonly drained by means of ditches cut through them, at the mouths of which are placed sluice-gates,* which permit a quantity of water to enter sufficient (nearly) to fill them at high tide, and, as the tide falls, suffer it to pass out; by which process the ditches are emptied at low tide. That side of the creek on which the town stands, for two or more miles below it, the meadows are all banked, and not natural . . .

"[There is] . . . a morass on the north-west side of the tavern in which the first cases of the disease occurred . . . From this filthy place the most respectable of the inhabitants of Port-Elizabeth derived the origin of their fatal disease . . .

"The disease began on the 9th day of August, 1798, at which time the yellow fever was scarcely epidemic in any part of the United States. On that day four persons (three of whom lived in the same house—the tavern) were taken ill of a fever very nearly about the same time. William Larrason, innkeeper, Mary his wife, Levi Heaton, school-master, and Abiah Cobb, servant maid, were their names. The three first died, and the last recovered. William Larrason died

*"The intention of those gates is to prevent the passage of water through them into the meadows; but it so happens, that, from inattention, this is seldom carried into effect completely; as, at every tide, water, in considerable quantity, does make its way through them. This is more especially to be remarked of those on the south, and in the vicinity of Port-Elizabeth."

on the 12th August, Heaton on the 13th, and Mary Larrason on the 15th of the same month.

"The sudden attack of disease . . . soon produced an alarm among the inhabitants of Port-Elizabeth.* Doctor Peirson, who was their physician, found the disease . . . 'much resembled the yellow fever' . . . [but he hesitated] to pronounce his opinion on the nature of the disease, till after its fatal termination in two of his patients . . .

" . . . The stage which goes from Bridgeton to Cape-May, through Port-Elizabeth, being the only way in which they could have received the disease by land, I conversed with Mr. Hopkins (the proprietor and driver of it at that time) particularly on the subject, who informed me that he never carried a sick person in his stage waggon before the 9th of August, and that, during the whole period of time in which the yellow fever prevailed in Philadelphia, he carried but three passengers who had that disease; and none of these were conveyed as far as Port-Elizabeth . . . My next inquiries were directed to its importation by water. One Perkins, a shallopman, arrived at Port-Elizabeth, a few days before the 9th of August, from Philadelphia. [During a subsequent return trip, he] . . . became sick on the passage, and died before he arrived at Philadelphia . . . The people of Port-Elizabeth, however, did not believe that contagion was conveyed to them, either in the body, the clothes, or the vessel, of this unfortunate man . . . [but] that he had received the seeds of the yellow fever among them . . .

"Ruth Peterson . . . was taken on the 10th of August, and died on the 17th following. She lived nearly a quarter of a mile south-east of the tavern . . .

"The next case was that of Isaac Marford, who was taken ill at the mouth of Maurice River, when on a fishing party from Port-Elizabeth, on the 15th of August, and died on the fifth day . . . He left Philadelphia exactly ten days previous to his attack, where he had been about one week. He sailed down in a vessel belonging to Milville (commonly called Maurice River Bridge), eight miles above Port-Elizabeth, where he landed . . . [There were] in all, thirteen genuine cases of yellow fever in this little place,* six of whom died.

"[In addition] . . . along the course of Maurice River, from Milville to Lee's-Burgh, which is thirteen miles, cases of yellow fever made their appearance. These were in proportion to the number of inhabitants; and in no instance did a case occur at any great distance from the shore. The number of cases which I have been able to collect, which occurred within this small district, amounted to twenty-four (exclusive of those at Port-Elizabeth), of whom sixteen died, and eight recovered. A number of them took the disease in Philadelphia; and it is no less true, that a number owe it to local causes, and

*"In consequence of this alarm, one half of the inhabitants fled from the village, and continued from home several weeks."

*"There were, at the time, nineteen dwelling houses in Port-Elizabeth, and the number of the inhabitants amounted to ninety-seven."

those not of a contagious nature. One of the most remarkable of this number was that of Abigail Albertson, aged six years . . . [who died September 9]. She lived about two miles below Port-Elizabeth . . . and the only chance the child had of receiving the disease by contagion was . . . [from a drowned Philadelphian, evidently infected, whose body] floated up the river by Albertson's house (which stands on the shore), and was soon after buried some distance above . . .

"I could adduce many other instances to prove the domestic origin of the yellow fever, as it prevailed in different parts of Cumberland county . . . I could not find a single instance . . . wherein the disease unequivocally proved itself contagious; and . . . in Port-Elizabeth, the epidemic was checked about the latter end of September, by the *coldness* of the weather, *not* by the *wetness* . . . [From the evidence it is apparent] that this fever took its rise from domestic causes; and when we consider that no person in Port-Elizabeth and its vicinity believes otherwise than that it had a local origin,* we must attribute its generation, if not its continuance, to this source. The cases were few indeed, when compared with those . . . in Philadelphia and other places; but, then, their number was much superior in proportion to the number of inhabitants . . .

" . . . After many fruitless attempts to account for the first cases . . . in Port-Elizabeth from a distant source, no better method could be devised to explain its origin in this way, than by attributing it to handling some loaf-sugar which had been conveyed to them by the stage from Philadelphia. Whether it is possible that loaf-sugar can infect a person with a malignant bilious fever, after having been carried no less than sixty miles, I must leave you to determine."—*The Medical Repository,* Volume 3 (Second Edition, New York, 1805), pages 246-53.

*"It is a curious circumstance that I could not discover a dissenting voice from this opinion."

Reluctant O'Brien

The legislature of New Jersey has considered in its day many weighty problems. One such came before the Assembly on the twenty-ninth of January, 1839, in the form of a petition—presented

"By Mr. Lee, from Timothy O'Brien, of Rahway, stating that he is subjected to considerable loss, inconvenience and disgrace, by reason of its being supposed, in consequence of his name, that he is an *Irishman,* &c, &c., and therefore praying for a law to change his name to *Prindle.*

"Mr. Lee moved that the petition be referred to the Com[mittee] on the Judiciary.

"Mr. Molleson moved to amend the motion, inasmuch as the petitioner prayed for a divorce from his name, and to refer it to the Committee on Divorces.

"Mr. Sanderson moved its reference to a Select Committee.

"It was finally referred to the Committee on Divorces!"—*Newark Daily Advertiser,* January 30, 1839. (From Dr. R. P. McCormick.)

DIRECTOR'S DIARY

ALEXANDER J. WALL, JR.

A TEAPOT does not often become news, but when the teapot is a silver one, made by an early New Jersey silversmith for the father of a New Jersey patriot, it becomes "one for the books." The teapot to which we refer was received in January of this year, presented by several friends of the Society. It was made about 1750 by Elias Boudinot (1706-1770) for John and Abigail Stockton, the parents of Richard Stockton, New Jersey Signer, who married Annis, the silversmith's daughter. The teapot, one of only half a dozen known pieces by Boudinot, measures approximately nine inches from spout to handle and six inches in height. It bears the Stockton coat of arms with motto *Omnia Deo Pendent,* and on the under side appear the engraved letters I A S, initials of the original owners, also the maker's mark repeated four times.

Elias Boudinot was born in New York City, where he was early an apprentice of Simeon Soumaine, a goldsmith, for seven years. By 1740 Boudinot was an active silversmith in Philadelphia, but by 1753 he had moved to Princeton. In 1762 he gave up his business there of silversmith, general merchant, and postmaster, and moved to Elizabeth where, in a state of retirement, he lived his last years with his son, later president of the Continental Congress.

The teapot remained in the Stockton family until it was purchased from David Stockton, a descendant, and added to the collection of Leo Loeb. It was later offered for sale by a New York firm of antique dealers, and friends of the Society contributed towards its purchase and presentation. The teapot is presently on exhibition in the main floor corridor of the Society's museum.

The library, too, was the recipient of an important gift from our member and trustee, Mr. Reeve Schley, a manuscript orderly book of the First Brigade of artillery commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Edward Carrington under General Knox between January 3 and April 7, 1780, while in camp at Morristown.

Another item of importance concerns the third annual New Jersey Historical Conference to be held in Trenton on Saturday, June 6, with the co-operation of the Trenton Historical Society. Headquarters for the conference this year will be the Soldiers' and Sailors' War Memorial Building, where registration, the morning general session, luncheon, dinner, and evening program will

The Elias Boudinot teapot, a recent gift

The Society's Museum: the New Jersey History Gallery

be held. Although final arrangements have not been consummated, it is anticipated that special workshop sessions will be held on genealogy at the Old Barracks and on exhibition techniques at the State Museum.

The afternoon general lecture session will be held in the assembly chamber of the state capitol and will be followed by a tour of historic Trenton. As in former years, we will have a full complement of competent speakers on a variety of subjects pertaining to New Jersey history. Members of the Society will receive announcements and reservation blanks through the mail early in May, and we shall be glad to send announcements and invitations to anyone else who might be interested in attending. A post card addressed to the Society is all that is necessary.

During January, February, and March the Society presented its series of ten weekly film programs on American history. Almost one thousand people attended them, a considerable part of the audiences being composed of school teachers, members of the Society, and children. The *Newark Evening News* and other local newspapers co-operated by publishing weekly announcements of forthcoming programs and the Society was the happy recipient of congratulatory letters from many individuals on its service to the public.

A special program on New Jersey and the early movies was attended by three hundred members and friends of the Society on Saturday, February 28. An enthusiastic audience heard Mr. Paul Busse of the Thomas Alva Edison Foundation give an introduction to the program, outlining man's quest for means of reproducing motion and describing Thomas A. Edison's part in the development of the motion picture camera and projector. Then followed five early films, three of which were made in New Jersey, all of them shown to piano accompaniment by Mr. Ray Gold, who started his career as a piano-player in a silent movie house. A highlight of the occasion was the presence in the audience of Mr. Samuel Johnson Snyder, ninety-three-year-old resident of North Caldwell, who had been the conductor on a train used in the Thomas A. Edison production of "The Great Train Robbery" (1903), one of the five films shown in the program. The other films were: "Rescued from an Eagle's Nest" (1907); "The Lonely Villa" (1909); "Making a Living" (1914); and "The Last of the Line" (1914).

On March 21, the North Jersey chapter of Delta Kappa Gamma—a professional society of teachers and educators—held a luncheon meeting in our auditorium. Included in the program was a talk on "New Jersey Firsts" by your director, followed by a tour of the building.

A series of small seasonal exhibits have been shown in the library recently. During December several Christmas issues of the *Youth's Companion* of the 1880's were on view. These issues contained Christmas catalogues of gifts for the entire family, with prices—an enlightening list of what one might have

received as Yuletide presents during this colorful decade. The February exhibit was devoted to valentines of the mid-nineteenth century, and in March were shown two federal income tax returns for 1867. It seems that between 1864 and 1872 a federal law imposed an income tax of five per cent on all incomes under five thousand dollars and ten per cent on those above that amount. They were extremely simple forms to prepare, making no allowances for dependents or for deductible expenses but levying extra taxes on such luxuries as watches, plate, carriages, billiard tables, pianofortes and yachts.

The Society is co-operating with the New Jersey Department of Education Television Research Center in producing films for classroom television. The first film was recorded in January. Entitled "Colonial Close-Ups," the film is concerned with early home life and industry, in which many of the Society's early kitchen utensils and household implements were demonstrated and their use was described. It is anticipated additional films may be made on early lighting devices, costumes, and other historical topics making use of the Society's collections.

Plans for the annual meeting of the Woman's Branch on May 13 are well advanced. In addition to the traditional luncheon and business meeting, Miss V. Isabel Miller of the Museum of the City of New York will present an illustrated lecture on early American costumes. The general membership is invited.

ELSEWHERE IN THE STATE

In the January PROCEEDINGS we stated that at the annual meeting of the American Association for State and Local History an award was conferred for the publication of *Railroading in New Jersey*. After our issue went to press, a copy of the citation was received by us which showed the award to have been made to its author, John T. Cunningham, rather than to the Associated Railroads of New Jersey as we had reported. The award characterizes Mr. Cunningham's volume as follows: "Written in a vigorous, lively style and with sound historical care, generously illustrated, and happily equipped with an extensive and useful bibliography, in every detail including format, this is an example of historically sound writing made attractive and appealing."

Mr. Cunningham has completed a series of twenty-three articles on the counties of New Jersey which appeared weekly through the fall and winter in the *Newark Sunday News*. Taking recognition of this important series, the Board of Trustees of the New Jersey Historical Society passed a resolution extending its congratulations and commendation to the Newark *News*, Mr. Lloyd Felmly, its editor, and to Mr. Cunningham for their major contribution to the history of the state. It is good to hear that the articles are to be combined in book form with additional illustrations, maps, an index, and complete bibliography.

The volume will be published by Rutgers University Press in the fall.

An American Association for State and Local History award was conferred also on the Colonial Burlington Society of Burlington, New Jersey, "for its celebration of the 275th anniversary of the founding of Burlington, its association with the restoration of the Revel House (1685), its publication of *The Burlington Story, a Chronology of Events,* and its pamphlet reproduction of the *Laws, Concessions and Agreements of West Jersey* (1677)."

Miss Miriam V. Studley, chief New Jersey librarian at the Public Library of Newark, has been giving talks on the various Newark branch libraries for local mothers' groups on the history of their neighborhoods. Miss Studley augments her talks with maps and illustrations from the New Jersey collection. She also supervised the preparation and installation of an exhibition of early Newark scenes which was on view from November through March. The exhibition, occupying cases on two floors of the library's rotunda, was composed of lithographs, engravings, post cards, and photographs of early Newark. Miss Julia Sabine, principal art librarian of the Newark Public Library, is at work on another exhibition which will be on view during April, May, and possibly June. This one will deal with the theater in Newark and will include photographs of famous players, handbills, programs, and other memorabilia.

Learning history with the authentic feel of the past is the happy experience of Elizabeth students in the Alexander Hamilton Junior High School this year as they study "documents that show the growth of our country." Under the guidance of their instructor, Mrs. Barbara Richter, the young people devised appropriate costumes and settings for seven scenes depicting the Declaration of Independence. Then the group was taken to Boxwood Hall, one of the state-owned historic sites, where true colonial backgrounds were provided while the enactments were photographed. Besides gaining a sense of realism in history, the class "discovered" a new pride in their home community and its early American heritage.

Shades of the Bonapartes were revived lately when a giant black walnut tree was removed from the former Joseph Bonaparte estate near Bordentown. Measuring thirteen feet around the base, the nearly two-hundred-year-old tree had a summer house built around it so that it grew through and now crowded an opening which had been left in the roof. After being sawed to convenient size, the logs were destined for Montreal, Canada, and the use of a veneer manufacturer there.

In 1944, the Department of Conservation and Economic Development supervised the removal of about ten thousand dollars' worth of timber from the refugee monarch's Point Breeze. At that time it was certain that some of the trees were old enough to have shaded Joseph and his royal family as they strolled about the grounds, watched boating on the river below, and debated the likelihood of being joined by Napoleon himself. Many changes of

ownership occurred after Joseph's return to his homeland in the 1830's. The property is presently owned by St. Joseph's Mission.

A new portrait of Elias Boudinot was unveiled and presented to Boxwood Hall, Elizabeth, during a Washington's Birthday celebration held there Sunday afternoon, February 22. The house is administered by the Department of Conservation and Economic Development as one of its state-owned historic sites. After unsuccessful attempts to acquire an original portrait of the colonial owner of the home on East Jersey Street, members of the Boxwood Hall Memorial Association commissioned an artist to paint one. Source material and existing paintings were made available for study at art galleries in Princeton University, Washington, D.C., and New York City.

The Monmouth County Historical Association featured an exhibit of duck-shooting, during March. One of the most interesting items on display was a ten-foot punt gun, formerly used by a Chesapeake Bay poacher, and lent for the exhibit by the present owners, Abercrombie and Fitch Company of New York. The gun was loaded with six ounces or more of blasting powder and then filled with shot, nuts, bolts, screws, nails, and any pieces of scrap metal that were handy. The gun was then lashed into a punt and paddled out on the bay after dark. As the poacher approached the ducks he would beat on the water with his paddles to get the ducks off the water for a good shot. According to legend, the last time the gun was fired, in the 1920's, a game warden heard the blast and went to investigate. When he arrived on the scene, he found the poacher dead in his boat with part of a paddle driven through his heart by the force of the recoil, which had broken the bonds lashing the gun to the boat. He also found 150 mallards lying dead in front of him.

The main part of the exhibit featured more than seventy-five different decoys of Monmouth County ducks and a completely outfitted sneak box from the collections of Mr. William J. Mackey of Belford and Mr. Richard Moeller of Rumson. The background for the display consisted of large folio Audubon prints of Monmouth County ducks and geese, lent by Mr. Harry Shaw Newman of the Old Print Shop in New York.

The Burlington County Historical Society reports an unusual and entertaining program which they held on January 31, at St. Mary's Guild House in Burlington. Mrs. Aline K. Wolcott showed her collection of articles which were once in daily use, asked the audience "What is It?" and then explained the purpose of each one.

Recent gifts to the James Fenimore Cooper House, their headquarters, include a set of furniture —a bed, a circular stand, and a dressing table—which once were used by Joseph Bonaparte in his house in Bordentown. Letters of the period, authenticating the purchase of this furniture from a nephew of Napoleon by the grandfather of the donor, accompanied the gift. Included were fourteen very handsome framed prints of Napoleon

Bonaparte and his family. At present these articles are on exhibit in the Captain James Lawrence House, which adjoins the Cooper house and is now owned and administered by the State Department of Conservation and Economic Development.

The Board of Directors of the Society has been considering ways and means of securing a fire-proof building in which they might display some of their more valuable articles. At present the latter are kept in a vault and only brought out for special exhibits.

Cooper House is frequently used as a meeting place by various county organizations, such as the D.A.R., the Colonial Dames, and the Daughters of 1812. At present it is open to the public only on Sunday afternoons, but it can be visited, by appointment, at any time. School groups from all over the country often visit these exhibits.

Commemorating the anniversary of George Washington, the Bergen County Historical Society offered special attractions at Steuben House on February 22. A rare teapot, cups, and saucers, just acquired by the Society from Mr. James H. Smith, were on display for the first time. These were part of a tea set given by General Washington to Lieutenant Colonel Elijah Vose at the close of the war.

Also exhibited were a Revolutionary War uniform—the shirt handmade from flax raised in the town now known as Fairlawn—and a cradle, handmade for Jane A. Zabriskie (who was born in the von Steuben House), and a newspaper dated January, 1800, commemorating the death of General Washington. Mrs. Anna Noyes was on hand to show her portfolio of Washington's activities here in Bergen County in 1776, as well as her unique patchwork painting of the house where in 1839 was born "Grandma Gausman," Leonia's centenarian. Members were urged to wear an old costume or part of costume, a shawl or hat, an heirloom pin or necklace; carry a parasol or cane and "tell us the story behind the views."

Seventy members and guests of the Historical Society of Princeton met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Bruce H. French on Monday evening, January 19, 1953. Mr. John D. F. Morgan, former president of the Camden Historical Society, exhibited a most interesting set of colored slides of historical buildings, cemeteries, etc., accompanied by an explanation of their significance. A number of the oldest buildings included have been removed or destroyed since the pictures were taken.

A business meeting preceded the talk, at which time the desirability of having future meetings at the homes of members was discussed. It was also proposed that the Society attempt to double its present membership of two hundred in the next year. A hope was expressed that "Morven," the Stockton home, may be used as the Society's headquarters by arrangements with the state of New Jersey at some future date. Bruce H. French was elected president.

Several other societies reported recent elections. Dr. Richard P. Mc-

Cormick, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, was also elected president of the New Brunswick Historical Club, succeeding Dr. William H. S. Demarest, who presided over the organization for twenty-seven years. Dr. Demarest upon his retirement was elected honorary president.

The Trenton Historical Society, co-sponsor of the third annual New Jersey Historical Conference, held its annual Battle of Trenton Dinner on January 7 at the Old Barracks, attended by 78. Purvis Brearley was elected its president with a new slate of officers, and Mrs. Ann Hawkes Hutton of Bristol, Pennsylvania, spoke on "American Crisis Number One."

The Somerset County Historical Society, after having been somewhat dormant for a period of time, has recovered from its hibernation. A meeting of the Society was called on March 10 in Somerville, at which a complete set of officers and Board of Directors were elected, headed by the Rev. David R. Evans, as president. Monthly meetings were scheduled and committees on program and bibliography were appointed. Considerable enthusiasm is being shown for the reactivation of this Society, founded in 1882, to preserve the local histories and family records, historical documents, and maps of Somerset County. It is anticipated that the meeting quarters will be at the Board of Chosen Freeholders.

The second president of the Ocean County Historical Society is Mrs. Dayton G. Hopkins of New Egypt, named by the executive committee to fill out the term of the late Dr. Joshua Hilliard of Manahawkken, founder and charter-president of the Society. Mrs. Hopkins is a graduate of LaSalle College in New England and is the wife of Dayton G. Hopkins, counselor-at-law.

The museum of the Society is opening in special quarters provided by the Board of Chosen Freeholders in the refinished hall of records of the 1850 courthouse in Toms River. A public ceremony of dedication, in memory of Dr. Hilliard, was held March 20 at Toms River.

Five hundred Ocean County dates, from 1609 to 1952, have been compiled by Jack Lamping, corresponding secretary of the Society. They will be published this spring by the Board of Chosen Freeholders in a handy pocket booklet, to be distributed by the Society.

The Nutley Historical Society held a most unusual members' Christmas program on December 17, which was announced as "The Children's Christmas Party at the Franklin School about 1902." Included in the events of the evening were taffy-pulling matches, popcorn-making, and a program of "pupils" who offered readings, piano selections, and the like. Their annual meeting was held on March 10, when Frank Moreland Warren, president of the New York Folklore Society, spoke on "Folk Lore and History."

The New York Public Library's Manuscripts Division has recently made available to competent students an additional collection of William Livingston letters, almost entirely letters to him, 1775-80. Some fifteen hundred items are bound in six volumes. Practically all

concern in one way or another the Revolution as it affected New Jersey. Among the writers are George Washington, Elias and Elisha Boudinot, Lord Stirling, Elias Dayton, DeKalb, Steuben, Witherspoon, William Maxwell, Tench Tilghman, R. R. Livingston, Henry Brockholst Livingston, John Jay, Henry Knox, James Caldwell, William C. Houston, John Fell, Philemon Dickinson, Philip Schuyler, Nathanael Greene, Samuel Huntington. A few drafts of Livingston's replies are included. A number of letters are appeals to Governor Livingston from prisoners, either in jail in New Jersey or held by the British. The battle of Springfield is described by several officers, notably Maxwell. The pertinacity of Mrs. Livingston and one or more of her daughters in remaining at "Liberty Hall" near Elizabethtown in spite of the Loyalist and other raiders is pictured in solicitous reports passed to Livingston by all who stopped by.

The New Jersey Department of Conservation and Economic Development has recently dedicated Fort Mott on the Delaware River as a state park. As visitors tour the underground fortifications, stroll the promenade deck atop the revetments, and gaze across the river in the direction of other early American military defenses, they ask questions which present research cannot answer. In the hope of locating new and complete information, the Department would particularly like to know of journals, diaries, letters and other sources concerned with Fort Delaware, Finn's Point (now Fort Mott) and Fort DuPont. Individuals having such material should address Forests, Parks and Historic Sites, Department of Conservation and Economic Development, Trenton, N. J.

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mrs. Austin Fort, member of the Morris County Historical Society, is writing a book of legends and tales of old New Jersey, to be called "East Coast Cinderella."

William Haupt is a Ph.D. candidate at the University of Pennsylvania. His doctoral dissertation is to be a study of New Jersey politics, 1912-1919.

A doctoral dissertation, "Samuel Davies' Journal of a Mission to England, 1753-1755: a Study in the Early History of Princeton" (i.e., Princeton University), is in the course of preparation by Robert S. Arthur, Graduate College, Princeton University. Both British and American sources will be used. Publication plans are not stated.

Roland H. Mulford, superintendent of schools of Bridgeton, has completed research on his doctoral dissertation, the subject of which is "New Jersey Local School District Finance."

Peter C. Paul of Princeton University is preparing a paper on the agrarian movement in New Jersey, 1886-96, for his senior thesis.

Frank Slocum of Long Branch is beginning work on a master's thesis at Montclair State Teachers College, on "Factors and Problems confronting the Building of the Morris Canal."

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

MIRIAM V. STUDLEY

IT is gratifying to be able to present the review of a biography of such particular New Jersey interest as that of Elias Boudinot. The reviewer, Dr. Broadus Mitchell, is professor of economics at Rutgers University and an authority on the economic history of the United States. He has also made a special study of Alexander Hamilton.

Elias Boudinot, Patriot and Statesman, 1740-1821. By GEORGE ADAMS BOYD. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952. 321 pages.

What more proper man than Elias Boudinot, then president of the Continental Congress, to sign the treaty of peace with Great Britain in 1783? He was a stout patriot, of presence to occupy the country's chief chair, and of prescience to comprehend the country's future. He was an American worthy who deserves remembrance for his supporting role to Washington, Hamilton, and to the Federalists generally. The mightiest young nation could be proud of this responsible, virtuous representative, and we today may have satisfaction in his generous proportions.

Of New Jersey Revolutionary figures of high rank, he was more prudent than Witherspoon and enjoyed a longer career of usefulness; in place of the acid wit, and perhaps keener intelligence, of William Livingston, Boudinot possessed a bland, warm humor and superior tolerance. Deliberate in joining himself to the colonies' cause, once enlisted he was undeviating in his devotion and unstinting in the application of his faculties, material, moral, and political.

Mr. Boyd's excellent biography fixes Boudinot's qualities and services. The author, a man of affairs but of literary and scholarly avocation, was led to his undertaking in the best fashion, by scrutiny of more limited, related subjects, and by sharing the results of his researches with a congenial circle. The consequence is a digested account, critical as well as appreciative. The book illustrates what may be done by a zealous recruit to the historical craft who submits himself to the necessary discipline and all along contributes his native, pleasant mode of narrative and interpretation.

It is not easy to blend the man and his times, to set him forth not simply against the backdrop of the period, but as a figure interwoven in the tapestry. In this essential respect, as in others, Mr. Boyd has made gratifying advance over Jane J. Boudinot's more filial and personal *Life* of sixty years ago. The compression of the work is a re-

markable feature; Mr. Boyd has met the difficult test of declining to follow every inviting bypath and has kept to the main course, which itself is broad enough. He has been industrious and ingenious in turning up new materials, frequently in unsuspected quarters. Throughout, he is committed to, rather than infatuated by, the story he is telling. His estimate, like the man of whom he writes, is therefore reliable. This is the kind of performance which historical societies, besides their other offices of collection and custodianship, can encourage.

The self-taught Boudinot became the patron of education, both secular and religious. He continued to grow, in outlook and grasp, during the whole of his long life. This gives a clue to the assistance he rendered to others—whether to the academy of Francis Barber under auspices of the Presbyterian Church of Elizabethtown, Princeton University of which he was a lifelong trustee, or the American Bible Society of which he was the founder. If he had done no more than contribute to the youthful training of Alexander Hamilton, who was his protege, he would have accomplished his place in history. The mutual sympathies of these two, not only in the domestic and village scene but on the broadest stage of national policy in after years, forms in itself a moving story of mighty consequence for the American achievement. Hamilton's recommendation of Boudinot as director of the United States Mint, though well meant, turned out, as Mr. Boyd shows, to have confined Boudinot's powers at a period when his talents could have been better employed in representing us abroad or in other posts where major national strategy was being devised. Incidentally, the few errors of fact that occur pertaining to Hamilton's early years under Boudinot's aegis and otherwise are common to other works and are not important in a life of Boudinot.

Mr. Boyd portrays with skill Boudinot's combination of stability and ardor. This was unusual, permitting him to press the Federalist policies and yet preserve working relations with John Adams after that monolith had crumbled in other eyes, and to get on with the Republicans where Hamilton, Ames and so many more became clamorous objectors. Yet Boudinot was not perfect in this respect, for he found no place in his political garden for the weed named James Madison.

A final compliment is due Mr. Boyd for his delicacy—perhaps that is the word—in excising a multitude of passages in Boudinot's writing in which what Rush called his "uncommon piety" obtruded so much as to be a nuisance. Some have objected that the young Hamilton, not afterward distinguished for religious observance, could not have been so venerative as contemporaries picture. It would have been difficult to be in Boudinot's household and not, sincerely or from tact, concede much to his devotional enthusiasms. Mr. Boyd, in this later day, has wisely chosen to let Boudinot's admirable deeds stand for his too-many words.

BROADUS MITCHELL.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS

SINCE pamphlets on local history and institutions are nowhere completely, adequately, or promptly listed, this department is more than pleased to receive copies of such publications. Occasionally a paper-covered pamphlet has such merit and substance that a full-length review is indicated; such is the case with Joseph T. Karcher's *Municipal History of the Township of Sayreville,* to be reviewed in the July PROCEEDINGS.

But What Does the Chamber [of Commerce] *Do for Me?"* BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE CITY OF NEWARK. (Newark, N.J., 1952. 14 pages.) Includes brief history.

History of the Bordentown Baptist Church. BY WALBRIDGE B. FULLINGTON. (Bordentown, N.J., 1951. 155 pages.)

Irvington, Rich in Romantic History. DESIGNED AND PRODUCED BY LASKY COMPANY. (Newark, N.J.: Fidelity Union Trust Company, 1952. 9 pages.) Old photographs from the Irvington Library, historic text by Miriam O. Ball, combined in the pleasing format that characterizes the work of the Lasky Company.

Make It, Market It in Newark. BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE CITY OF NEWARK. (Newark, N.J., 1952. 14 pages.) Copiously illustrated brochure on Newark's resources and advantages.

One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Anniversary, the Methodist Church in Morristown. (Morristown, N.J., 1952. 38 pages.)

Plainfield Public Library, 1881-1951, a Record of the 70th Anniversary Celebration. (Plainfield, N.J., 1952. 13 pages.) Includes "Recollections of Plainfield," a delightfully informal talk by Van Wyck Brooks, concerning his childhood years in that city.

THE PERIODICAL PRESS

OCCASIONALLY it seems proper to recognize in this column a particular New Jersey magazine for its important contribution to knowledge of this state. In January, 1953, *New Jersey County Government,* the organ of the Association of Chosen Freeholders, completed its first year. The January issue carries, as an annual feature, a directory of all the freeholders of all the twenty-one counties of New Jersey. The February issue includes an author-index of all articles published by the magazine in 1952. Although *New Jersey County Government* is designed primarily to present current material of civic interest, it has published much of actual and potential historic value. Among special issues the December number, devoted to the New Jersey Turnpike, deserves wide attention and preservation. The November issue, featuring Rutgers University, includes, among many important articles, one by Professor McCormick, historian of the University, on "Ten Major Contributions of Rutgers." Detailed indexing of these

two issues is omitted from this column, but they may be consulted in the Society's library or in the New Jersey Division of the Newark Public Library.

Readers of the PROCEEDINGS will probably regard with indignation the *American Mercury* article (October, 1952) on New Jersey by Peter Kavanagh, an Irish visitor. His "Bog Across the River" has been more than adequately answered in John T. Cunningham's brilliant article, "The Genius of Jersey," one of his "Calvacade of Counties" series, in the *Newark Sunday News Magazine* of March 1, 1953. Rutgers University Press will publish Mr. Cunningham's entire series as a book this fall.

HISTORY

"Annual Report, 1951-52, Division of Veterans' Services," in *New Jersey Veteran,* February 1953, pp. 3-46. Includes a history of the new U.S. Veterans' Hospital in East Orange and a complete description of the many functions and services of the Division.

"Education for Health," by William H. MacDonald, in *Public Health News,* January 1953, pp. 3-6. History of health education in New Jersey back to 1913, with emphasis on tuberculosis control.

"50 Significant Dates in the History of Rutgers, State University of N.J., 1766-1952," in *New Jersey County Government,* November 1952, pp. 10-11.

"First Baptist Church of Cape May County," by M. Catharine Stauffer, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1952, pp. 187-92.

"Gazetteer of 1834," by Raymond J. Walker, in *Hobbies,* February 1953, pp. 152-53. Notes on six New Jersey cities, from Gordon's *Gazetteer.*

"Geographia Americae," in *Science Monthly,* January 1953, pp. 1 ff., February 1953, pp. 1 ff., March 1953, pp. 1 ff. Continuing series on New Sweden, based on writings of Peter Martenssen Lindestrom, 1654-1656, in the bulletin of the Paterson Museum.

"Guardian of New Jersey's Heritage," by Damon G. Douglas, in *New Jersey County Government,* January 1953, pp. 16, 30. New Jersey Historical Society activities described by our trustee, recently elected Essex County Freeholder.

"Historical Collection Broadening; Variety of Items to be Displayed," in *Around the Clock,* January 15, 1953, p. 1. Permanent exhibit at store "will reflect growth of Bamberger's from small shop to one of the largest retail organizations in the country."

"History of New Jersey National Guard," by Lt. George Silver, N.J.N.G., in *New Jersey County Government,* January 1953, pp. 25, 28.

"History of Vineland," by Francis A. Stanger, in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* July-October 1951, pp. 187-93.

"Junior Chamber of Commerce," in *The Newarker,* Winter 1953, pp. 5-6. History of the organization founded in 1915 and organized in Newark in 1931.

"How is Your Constitution? Revision in New Jersey," by Margaret Hickey, in *Ladies Home*

Journal, November 1952, pp. 25 ff. Part played by women's groups.

"Local Budget Law," by George C. Skillman, in *New Jersey Municipalities,* March 1953, pp. 7-9. History of the local budget law from 1917, and description of present methods of control of expenditures.

"Log Structures in New Sweden during the Seventeenth Century," by C. A. Weslager, in *Delaware History,* September 1952, pp. 77-95.

"The Mechanical Wonder of Monrobot," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1953, pp. 11-13. History of the Monroe Calculating Machine, invented by Frank Stephen Baldwin of Denville and Jay R. Monroe of East Orange in 1911.

"Mystery of Pahaquarry Copper," by C. H. Vivian, in *Compressed Air Magazine,* March 1951, pp. 58-64. A reprint is also available.

"NJEA, the Story of an Organization," in *New Jersey Educational Review*: "100 Years Ago," December 1952, pp. 113-22; "The Early Years," January 1953, pp. 149-55; "Elizabeth A. Allen and the Middle Years," February 1953, pp. 191-99. History of public education in New Jersey, through its teachers' association.

"Old Cemeteries . . . There and Here," in *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society,* September 1952, p. 2. Grave of General William Colfax in the Colfax cemetery on the road between Paterson and Pompton Falls.

"Our Changing Coastline," by Rear Admiral Robert F. A. Studds, in *Shore and Beach,* October 1952, pp. 11-13. Director of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey gives the history of New Jersey coast charting, back to the Revolution.

"Old and New in Cape May Agriculture," by Henry H. White, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1952, pp. 193-98.

"Pompton's Little Yellow House at the Cross Roads," in *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society,* September 1952, pp. 3-4. Home of Casparus Schuyler, at Pompton crossroads of Hamburg turnpike, torn down in 1890, scene of meeting between Washington and Robert Erskine.

"The Public Health Movement in New Jersey," by Mrs. Gloanna W. MacCarthy, in *Public Health News,* February 1953, pp. 41-43. Concise, important historic summary, back to the Sanitary Commission of 1865.

"Report of the League Tax Study Committee," by Theodore C. Hock, in *New Jersey Municipalities,* January 1953, pp. 5-7. Study to determine how to relieve municipal taxpayers traces history of taxation back to 1900.

"The Rutgers Lotteries," by Philip G. Nordell, in *Journal of the Rutgers University Library,* December 1952, pp. 1-12.

"Somerset Beginnings," by Ida L. Francis, in *New Jersey Educational Review,* December 1952, p. 123. School history in Somerset County, 1725 to 1849.

"State Pharmacy Board Marks 75 Years," by Maurice C. Goldberg,

in *New Jersey County Government,* January 1953, p. 22.

"Stipson's Island," by Roy Hand, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1952, pp. 210-13.

"Traditional Headquarters, General George Washington at the Falls Area," in *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society,* September 1952, p. 4. Two ancient taverns near the Great Falls of the Passaic, at Paterson.

"United States Hotel," in *Bulletin of the Passaic County Historical Society,* September 1952, p. 1. Historic Paterson hotel, 1848-1923.

"West Vineland in 1866; Its Opportunities," in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* July-October 1951, pp. 203-05. Notes of a talk given by the late G. W. Lewis to the West Vineland Farm and Garden Club in February, 1900.

GENEALOGY

"An Ancestral Miniature," by Mrs. Hugo Methmann, in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* January 1953, pp. 18, 157. Notes on Hannah Baldwin Ford (Mrs. Jacob Ford) and her son-in-law, Azariah Dunham, whose descendant, Mrs. Benjamin C. Allin of Stockton, California, owns mementoes from the Ford Mansion in Morristown.

"Ancestry of Frederick Peterson, of Sussex County, New Jersey, and Franklin County, Ohio," by Helen Swisher, in *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine,* December 1952, pp. 1324-25.

"Belcher Coat of Arms," by Hazel Kraft Eilers, in *Hobbies,* January 1953, pp. 154-56. Armorial bearing of Governor Jonathan Belcher of New Jersey. The Belcher line is now extinct in the United States.

"Bible Records," copied by Kenneth O. Brown, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1952, pp. 225-27.

"Bible Records in the Rutgers University Library," contributed by Donald A. Sinclair, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July 1950, pp. 71-72. The Jacob Dunham (1767-1832) family of New Brunswick.

"Boucher Coat of Arms," by Mabel Louise Keech, in *Hobbies,* December 1952, pp. 154-56. Armorial bearing of the family of Anne Boucher, wife of Vincent Runyon, first of that name in this country. The name in New Jersey has often been altered to Butcher.

"Bridgeton Baptist Cemetery," from records copied by Charles E. Sheppard, in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* July-October 1951, pp. 193-202. A continuing feature.

"Genealogical Dictionary of New Jersey," by Charles Carroll Gardner, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1950, pp. 35-41; July 1950, pp. 55-60. A continuing feature, currently presenting an account of the Andrews families, contributed by John P. Dornan.

"Morris County Pension Applications of Revolutionary War Veterans," contributed by Henry W. Pilch, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1950, pp.

31-34; July 1950, pp. 67-70. Continued.

"Records of the Dutch Congregations of Freehold and Middletown," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1950, pp. 42-47; July 1950, pp. 61-66. Baptismal records, 1745-53. Continued.

"Some Jersey Family Historians," in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1950, p. 48. Continues a list published in January, 1948.

"The Staats Family," by Richard W. Cook, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* April 1950, pp. 25-30.

"The Tribulations of Denys Hegeman [*c.* 1655-1702]," by Richard W. Cook, in *Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey,* July 1950, pp. 49-54. The story of a captivity in Canada.

PEOPLE AND PLACES

"Cities of New Jersey: Bridgeton," by Robert H. Yard, in *New Jersey Bell,* March 1953, pp. 2-6.

"Community Forest Builder: Roswell M. Roper, [East Orange] Water Engineer, Has Developed, within Sight of the Skyscrapers of New York, the Finest Example of a Community Forest outside of Europe," by Nelson C. Brown, in *American Forests,* Volume 51, 1954, pp. 162-64.

"Dr. Alexander Elected T.B. League President," in *Public Health News,* January 1953, p. 22. Brief biographical sketch of the late Dr. Walter G. Alexander, first Negro to head a state tuberculosis league, and, in 1939, first Negro in the United State to become member of a state board of health.

"Dr. Clee Played Major Part in Success of Parkway Issue," by Albert J. Benninger, in *New Jersey County Government,* December 1952, p. 39. Chairman of Speakers Bureau headed three hundred volunteer speakers.

"The Drumbeat of Politics," by Meador Wright, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1953, p. 30. Lesser-known facts about influences shaping the primaries for governor.

"Edmund Clarence Stedman at Home," by Edward Mercur Williams, in *New England Quarterly,* June 1952, pp. 242-48. Criticism of accounts of him by Anna B. Dodd, Theodore Dreiser, Frances B. Halsey, and Henri Pene du Bois. Stedman lived for some years in New Jersey, was stepson of Newarker William B. Kinney.

"Fabulous Fanny," by Norman Katkov, in *Ladies Home Journal,* November 1952, pp. 50-53 ff. First installment of the story of Fanny Brice relates her childhood adventures in Newark. Subsequently published in book form.

"Frank Dale Abell; Vice-President of the Board of Managers of the N.J. State Hospital at Greystone Park," in *Psychogram,* January 1953, p. 5.

"Frederick Strong Moseley, Jr.," in *Psychrogram,* March 1953, p. 5. Member of the Board of Managers of New Jersey State Hospital at Greystone Park since 1938.

"Gracious Dining at the Millburn

Inn," by Nancy Knowles Parker, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1953, p. 17. Built in Dutch architectural style about 1800 by John Bryson, whose 88-acre farm included most of the present Millburn.

"Hackettstown Hatchery Attracts Visitors," in *New Jersey Recreation Development,* January 1953, p. 6. Open daily 8 A.M. to 5 P.M., state fish hatchery opened in 1912 attracts 100,000 visitors a year.

"High Point State Park," by Elinor V. Wyckoff, in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* December 1952, p. 33.

"The Historical Tour in Carlisle," by Penn Shelton Burke, in *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine,* September 1952, pp. 167-79. Included a visit to the grave and statue of Molly Pitcher, whose biography is sketched on p. 175.

"Joseph Altman Elected President of New Jersey State League [of Municipalities]," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* December 1952, p. 25. Brief biographical note.

"Julian P. Boyd," in *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* Autumn 1952, pp. 37-38. An appreciation on the occasion of Mr. Boyd's resignation as librarian of Princeton University to accept a professorship in the University's Department of History.

"Mercer H. Wilson," cartoon biography by Joe Masick, in *New Jersey County Government,* January 1953, p. 6. Mercer H. Wilson of Atlantic County served eight years as director of the Atlantic County Board of Chosen Freeholders.

"Montclair Art Museum, Community Culture Center," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* March 1953, pp. 9-10. Founded 1913, the Museum is distinguished for its well rounded collection of American paintings and its annual exhibition of New Jersey artists' work.

"Musings of a Member," in Archeological Society of New Jersey *News Letter,* February 1953, p. 11 Indian artifacts found on a farm seven miles from the famous Abbott farm excavation.

"New Jersey's Historic Sites Are Plus Values to Their Town and State," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* February 1953, pp. 16-17. Featuring the Steuben house, Hancock house, Cleveland birthplace.

"Now Hear This! Many Communities Have Been Deluged with Verbal Torrents from Lecturers with Unsavory Records. Who is Responsible for Procuring Such People and for Screening Out Speakers Who Favor Traditional Americanism?" by Felix Wittmer, in *The American Legion,* February 1953, pp. 18-19 ff. Mr. Wittmer formerly taught at Montclair State Teachers' College.

"101 New Place Names Certified by New Jersey," by George W. Herlick, in *New Jersey County Government,* January 1953, pp. 12, 38. Recently certified to national board on geographic names in Washington, D.C., by Robert G. Blanchard, chairman of New Jersey Geographic Board.

"Parisienne from N.J.C.," in *Report from Rutgers,* December 1952, p. 1. Biography of Mme. Alice de

Visme, head of the French Department at New Jersey College for Women.

"Paul L. Troast," in *New Jersey County Government,* December 1952, p. 8. Prominent professional engineer, chairman of the New Jersey Turnpike Authority, and candidate for governor. A cartoon biography by Joe Masick.

"Right Here in New Jersey: Clara Barton's School," in *New Jersey Autoist,* February 1953, p. 6. Among places of unusual interest in your home state suggested by the New Jersey Automobile Club to spice one- or two-day motor jaunts.

"Right Here in New Jersey: the Holland Submarine" (in West Side Park, Paterson), in *New Jersey Autoist,* January 1953, p. 6.

"Robert Andrew Lowery," in *Psychogram,* February 1953, p. 5. Treasurer, New Jersey State Hospital at Greystone Park.

"Some Old Houses of Cape May County," by Helena Way Fitzpatrick, in *Cape May County Magazine of History and Genealogy,* June 1952, pp. 214-24. Part 3 (conclusion). Illustrated with sketches.

"Thomas J. Wieser, City Clerk, Linden," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* November 1952, p. 8. In the series "Who's Who in New Jersey."

"Trenton, U.S.A.," by John Earl Davis, in *Shell Progress,* May-June 1952, pp. 17-21. Here the Hessians had a hangover, and Washington made history on an icy morning. Now New Jersey's capital makes history daily, rain or shine—and the Delaware is easier to cross.

"An Unequalled Record; Charles H. Martens Will Retire on January 1st, after 34 Consecutive Years of Service as Mayor of East Orange," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* December 1952, p. 7.

"We Drove Out the Dirty Money Boys," by Nelson F. Stamler, in *Saturday Evening Post,* March 21, 1953, pp. 28 ff. Account of the Bergen County gambling investigation by former Deputy Attorney General Stamler, recently dismissed by Attorney General Parsons for insubordination.

"What Makes a Collector Tick; Foster Tallman," by Irving Browning, in *Hobbies,* December 1952, pp. 142-43. Collector of firearms, from an Orange, N.J., family of collectors, now lives in Bayhead, N.J.

"Who's Who in New Jersey: James J. Tully, Mayor of Belleville," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* December 1952, p. 6.

"Who's Who in New Jersey," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* January 1953, p. 4. About Herbert H. Smith, New Jersey State Planning Section.

BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY

"About Newark's Business: the Budweiser Brewery," in *The Newarker,* Winter 1953, pp. 1-2.

"Adequate Parking Holds Big Regional Retail Trade," in *American City,* November 1952, p. 155. Teamwork of merchants and Passaic Parking Authority in-

creases retail trade through off-street parking.

"America's Submerged Class: the Migrants," by Mary Heaton Vorse, in *Harper's Magazine,* February 1953, pp. 86-93. Conditions in South Jersey agricultural labor camps.

"Aromatic Chemicals," in *Via Port of New York,* March 1953, pp. 6-7. First overseas plant of L. Givaudan & Cie., of Geneva, Switzerland, established at Delawanna, Passaic County, in 1924.

"The Chemical Industry in New Jersey," by Borden R. Putnam, Jr., in *Review of New Jersey Business,* January 1953, pp. 3-6, 13. New Jersey is the leading producer of chemicals in the United States.

"The Clams That Went to College," in *Report from Rutgers,* December 1952, pp. 2-3. Six years' research on clam farming at Great Bay, near Tuckerton.

"European and American Ceramics in the Newark Museum Collections," by Margaret E. White, in *The Museum,* Fall 1952. Includes New Jersey potters' work in text and illustrations.

"Former Junior Breeder Borrower Receives First State Board Fund Operating Loan," in *Farm Service News,* November 1952, p. 2. New Jersey Department of Agriculture fosters scientific cattle breeding.

"Jersey Poultrymen Ship Eggs, Chicks, to Iranian Farmers Learning New Methods," in *Farm Service News,* November 1952, pp. 1, 3. New Jersey participates in Point Four in the E.C.A.

"Jersey Vacation Land," in *New Jersey Municipalities,* November 1952, p. 29. In 1951 vacation business was the state's largest industry; New Jersey ranks second in dollar income and number of tourists attracted among the nation's leading summer vacation states.

"Muskrat Management and Water Level Control," by Vic Schmidt, in *New Jersey Outdoors,* December 1952, pp. 18-21. An important industry in coastal counties of South Jersey.

"New Jersey Billboard Decision Distinction Made between Business Signs and Advertising," by Albert S. Bard, in *American City,* February 1953, p. 167. New Jersey Supreme Court decision, December 22, 1952, a victory for New Jersey Roadside Council.

"New Jersey is Producing More Food from Less Land," by J. W. Carncross, in *New Jersey County Government,* February 1953, pp. 11-12. Includes table showing 1952 value of twelve classes of agricultural products.

"Profits from City Wastes?" by H. Russell Stanton, in *New Jersey Municipalities,* November 1952, pp. 35-36. Walker Gordon Laboratory at Plainsboro provides funds for research "on processing waste organic materials of potential agricultural value," to convert to fertilizer.

"Safety with Comfort & Convenience is Parkway Objective," by H. W. Griffin, in *New Jersey County Government,* October 1952, p. 19.

"Slum Tuberculosis," by Irving

Willner, M.D., in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* August 1952, pp. 361-63. Discussion of the relation between concentration of population in slum areas and death rate from tuberculosis, with specific examples from Newark's experience.

"Soil Testing Lab in Each County? Could Be!" in *New Jersey Agriculture,* January-February 1953, p. 6. Pilot projects in Monmouth, Middlesex, and Gloucester counties set up on a membership-fee basis in 1952.

"Some Pearl Button Manufacturers of Vineland," by Elena J. Darling, in *Vineland Historical Magazine,* July-October 1951, pp. 205-10. Continued.

"Strengthening the Integration of Minority Groups; the Problem is Tackled as a Union Problem," by Marie E. Algor, in *Journal of Educational Sociology,* February 1952, pp. 337-41. American Labor Education Service working for civil rights in New Jersey.

"Strict Controls Adopted to Check Hog Disease," in *Farm Service News,* November 1952, p. 4.

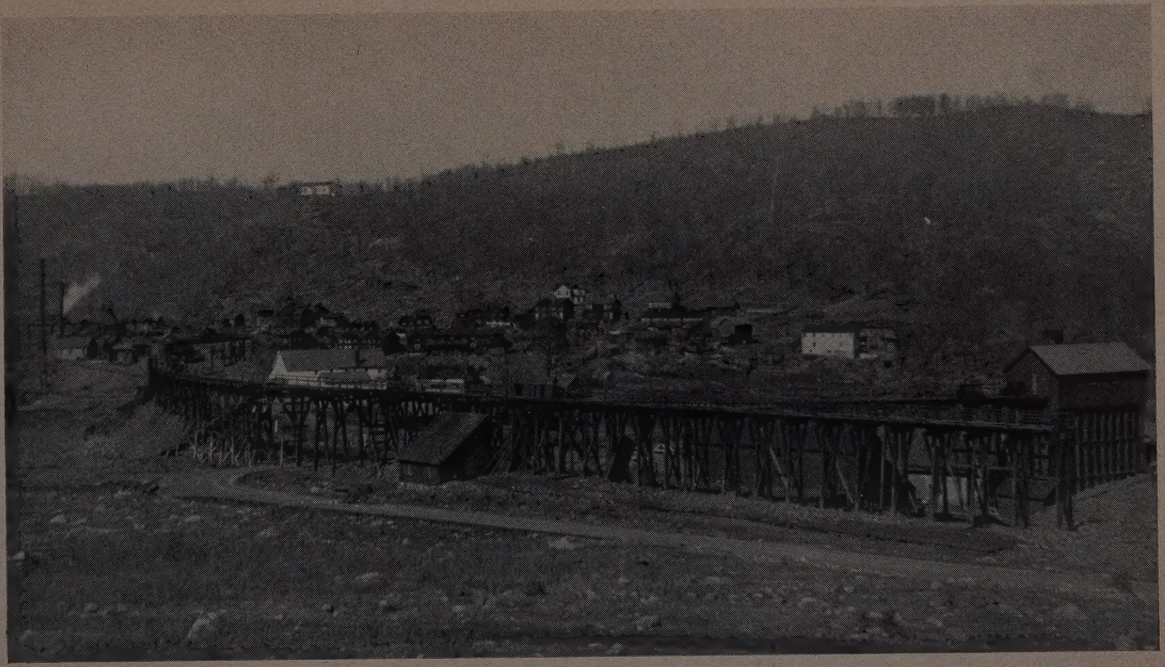
"Sussex County Folk Are Able at Dairy Farming," by Russell Stanton, in *New Jersey County Government,* February 1953, p. 5. Frank H. Davenport's ancestral farm, cleared in the early 1700's, typical Sussex County dairy farm.

"Tomorrow's Big Shots Are Busy Today," by Clarence Woodbury, in *American Magazine,* November 1952, pp. 42-43 ff. Illustrations feature Cooper Arts Products Company of Elizabeth, N. J., in account of Junior Achievement, Inc.

"Tomorrow's Homes . . . Today," in *Suburban Life in New Jersey,* October 1952, pp. 9-10. Deerfield Park, Short Hills, "first completely air conditioned residential community in New Jersey."

"Training Specialists in Textile Research," by George H. Dukes, in *New Jersey Educational Review,* January 1953, pp. 157-58. Textile Research Institute, affiliated with Princeton University but separately incorporated March 7, 1951, as an institution of learning.

"Variety & Value of 1952 Farm Products in N.J.," by Jacob G. Seip, in *New Jersey County Government,* February 1953, p. 20.



A view of Hibernia, N.J., in 1898. From a photograph in the Society's collection.